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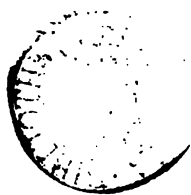




FIG. 1. A. M. 1113

FIG. 1. A. M. 1113

FIG. 1. A. M. 1113

CELEBRATED JESUITS.

VOL. II.

A CARDINAL, A MANDARIN,

AND

A REFUGEE.

BY THE



REV. WILLIAM H. RULE,

AUTHOR OF "THE BRAND OF DOMINIC," "MARTYRS OF
THE REFORMATION," &C.

WITH THREE PORTRAITS.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY JOHN MASON, 14, CITY-ROAD;

SOLD AT 66, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1853.

210. q 194.

LONDON :
PRINTED BY JAMES NICHOLS,
HOXTON-SQUARE.

PREFACE.

THE reader is invited to peruse three other sketches—two of them being purely biographical, and the third relating to a period rather than a person—which complete the small set of half-a-dozen Jesuit portraitures.

The Cardinal, Robert Bellarmine, is undoubtedly a fair representative of his class. His name is famous. It is not associated, in public apprehension, with anything very odious; and if I could have so far forgotten the duty of a Christian as to make a partial, and therefore misleading, representation, and wandered beyond the province of history, in order to caricature Jesuitism, I certainly should not have selected this Cardinal as a subject of description. As to the authorities for this description, it may suffice to say that his biographer, Fuligatti, brought me much material; but a glance at the following pages will show that I have not been content to abridge or borrow from him alone, but have collated and tested his statements, and woven anew the tissue of my narrative with con-

PREFACE.

tributions from many sources, existing both in print and manuscript.

The Mandarin, John Adam Schall, although a Missioner, like Xavier, belongs to a very distinct class. Schall was no ascetic. He did not wander from country to country. But, on the other hand, he could not command auxiliary influences from Europe, nor bring Portuguese broadsides and bayonets to play upon the conscience of the Heathen. But, assuming the language, costume, manners, and notions of the Chinese, he laboured, with exhaustless ingenuity, to attain what none of the means employed by Xavier could have reached. And his history is intimately associated with that of the Chinese Mission, at this day invested with an importance that challenges the attention and the vigilance of the Protestant world. And even while this volume was going through the press, intelligence from China awakened suspicion that an element introduced by the Jesuits is mingled with other ingredients of mischief in the rebellion that, for some time past, has agitated that empire. Let me observe that hitherto Schall has had no complete biography in any language, and certainly in English *none*.

The Refugee, Gabriel Gruber, like his companions during the suppression of the order, lived remote from general observation, and it is only by snatches that we can catch any view of

PREFACE.

their proceedings. I have endeavoured to collect fragmentary intelligence, and hope that I may have so far succeeded as to produce a first, although very imperfect, draught of a history of Jesuitism from 1773 to 1820. If any one sufficiently learned and persevering will pursue the study, and produce a thorough history of the order during that period of dispersion, humiliation, and triumph, he will make an invaluable contribution to the literature of modern Europe. Russia is a field that would reward the toil of a scholar familiar with the Slavonic dialect; and the mere mention of two similar facts may serve to indicate a reason why the character of Jesuitism in Russia should be just now unveiled to the eye of Europe. The facts are these:—That in the year 1814 the Czar Alexander banished the Jesuits from St. Petersburg on account of the conversion of a nephew of Prince Galitzin; and they were subsequently expelled from the empire. And that in the year 1853 the “Catholic Directory” exhibits, among the “lay converts” of the preceding year, “Her Highness the Princess of Naroki, grand-niece of the Emperor of Russia,” Nicholas.

In conducting controversy with the Church of Rome, or in expounding its doctrine, or exhibiting its practice, too great care cannot be taken to avoid resting the issue of the great question on the character of particular persons. Some of the

PREFACE.

votaries of Antichrist enjoy a reputation of Christianity; and that very reputation strengthens the strong delusion under which millions are living who believe a lie, and thus exhibit a sad fulfilment of the New-Testament prophecy. They are enthralled under the power of that Antichrist, "whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness and unrighteousness." And many of those who profess to follow Christ grievously dishonour that sacred name; yet "the foundation standeth sure, and the Lord knoweth them that are His." Neither the virtues nor the delinquencies of men can be adduced, conclusively, to settle a question in relation to systems that must be solved according to the intrinsic merits or defects of the systems themselves.

But it is not unimportant to be informed that the vaunted virtues of many personages whom the multitude fancy to be models of all excellence, exist only in the air of a delusive notoriety. And it is of the utmost importance to arrive at a clear perception of the principles which have actuated men of historic rank, and still actuate bodies of great activity and extensive influence. These two points have been steadily kept in view during the preparation of the sketches now offered to the public. Many other personages that have long been moving with

PREFACE.

mock dignity on the theatre of history, should also be represented as they are, rather than as they seem. The dress, the buskin, and the mask bespeak the plaudits of the audience; but let us remove the garb, reduce the stature, pluck off the disguise, and the spectators, discovering the insignificance of the *men*, will wonder at their own simplicity in mistaking the *dramatis personæ*, the mere actors, for true saints and heroes, and paying honour to the shadow, without staying to inquire whether, behind the shadow, there was any substance.

W. H. R.

14, *City-road, London*,
April 26th, 1853.

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A JESUIT CARDINAL.

ROBERT BELLARMINE,

THE PRINCE OF PAPAL CONTROVERSIALISTS.

A JESUIT CARDINAL.

ROBERT BELLARMINE.

ROBERTO FRANCESCO ROMULO BELLARMINO first saw light in Montepulciano, a town of Tuscany, on the 4th day of October, 1542. Cardinal Roberto Pucci, of Florence, gave him those names at "the lustral font." The first, Roberto, clave to him all his life, in honour of the sponsor; the second name, Francesco, given in consideration of the saint adored on that day, St. Francis of Assisi, was to remind him of the seraphic patriarch whom he should invoke as his guardian saint, and whose virtues he might aspire to imitate; and as for the third name, Romulo, it might suggest and quicken aspirations after some Roman dignity. His father, Vincenzo Bellarmino, and his mother, Cintia Cervini, were of high families; and his maternal uncle, Marcello Cervini, sat on the apostolic throne as Marcellus II.

IN CHILDHOOD.

Wealth and honours attended at his birth, bidding for eulogies on such illustrious infancy. "Educated," to borrow the words of his biographer, Fuligatto, "in the bosom of most excellent parents, from being a diminutive infant, he had

scarcely reached years of an enlightened discretion when he gave indications of his future greatness and incomparable probity. Indeed, some judged that he had found, in the hands of God, Creator of human minds, a good soul,—a soul in which Adam himself would not have sinned, as it had formerly been said of St. Bonaventure.”

This marvel of unstained purity, according to Fuligatto, loved religion in preference to play, and acted over again in the nursery the ceremonies of the Church. A stool served him instead of altar, whereat he mimicked mass. On the seat of a high-backed bench, just peeping over the top, and wearing something white, he preached, in his way, about the sufferings of Christ, much to the delight of his mother, who, like many others, taught her little Robert to play at religion when he was six or seven years old, and left him to play out the game with greater art at sixty or seventy.

She spared no pains, however, to bring him up according to the straitest sect of her religion, suffering him only to associate with elder boys, and they of his own rank; and, after he had risen to eminence, his elder sister Camilla stated that when only nine or ten years old he gave up childish sports, and was especially careful never to walk too quick. Public fame in Montepulciano retained the memory of that edifying gravity; and, in due time, many of the

IN CHILDHOOD.

old people deponed as much on oath. As he grew bigger, the same propensity to imitate Priests continued. It is related that when rambling in the country, he was wont to amuse himself with catching birds, playing on the fiddle, and preaching from the trunk of a tree. Being even then an ardent orator, he gathered audiences.

But, amidst all this childishness, young Robert had higher thoughts : perhaps observing that the path to eminence could only be trodden by the diligent, and certainly impelled by a strong desire after knowledge, he became a diligent student, and not only rose early for prayers, as required to do, but often stole from his bed at night, and by help of a flint and steel struck light, lit his fire, and outran the morning in pursuit of learning. But that pursuit must have been retarded by the observance of a round of ceremonial festivities, fastings, hours, litanies, rosaries, and processions. As nephew of a Pope, godson of a Cardinal, related to some of the highest families in Tuscany, possessing a vigorous mind, and having every advantage of education at command, nothing less than a veto of Divine Providence could have driven him back into obscurity. But it pleased God to permit the contrary. We shall attend this child in his advance to almost the highest station that the Church of Rome could give, and find him foremost in battle with the Reformation.

BELLARMINE

Partaking of that admiration of classic models which yet survived the days of Medicean glory in Florence, he found much delight in their study. From Virgil, especially, in due time, he drew a poetic inspiration, while Horace and the Satirists lent him their charms of number. He could early write Italian odes with equal facility and success, and after a few years some of his Latin verses obtained celebrity. The hymn in the Roman Breviary, in honour of Mary Magdalene, beginning with "*Pater superni luminis*," inserted there by command of Clement VIII., was from his pen. That the spur of ambition urged him, even in the gay morning of childhood, is undoubted. He used to tell a little anecdote of himself, which says as much. At church one day, with his mother, during sermon, and rather amused than edified, he diverted her attention by repeating, again and again, and loud enough to be heard by many, "Signora, do you not see that I am going to be made a Bishop and a Cardinal?" "Hush," said Cynthia, "hush, hush!" "Nay, lady," he shouted, pointing at the pictures of illustrious Doctors that adorned the building, "I shall be like one of *them*, some day." Jesuits have imagined that the boy prophesied.

AT STUDY.

In order to give him an education correspondent to the station of his family, his father

AT STUDY.

determined to send him to Padua, whither also a cousin, Ricciardo Bellarmino, was about to proceed; and as no Tuscan subject might go out of the state for education, without licence of the Duke, such a licence was obtained from Cosimo I. How to find a suitable companion and protector, who might first accompany him into the Venetian territory, and then take some oversight of him when at college, was a question that cost some anxiety; and, at length, it was resolved to confide that service to a member of the Society of Jesus.

The favourable disposition towards the Society that led to this choice was not accompanied with sufficient foresight in the father. The mother was fascinated with admiration of the new fraternity. The son, too, over whom Cynthia swayed the influence of a fond parent, imperceptibly drank in the spirit of asceticism and of romance that the Jesuits were diffusing throughout Italy; and even while the family were looking around them for a Jesuit companion, and the house was full of preparation for his departure to Padua, and the Ducal passport was to invest the journey with an air of official privilege, little Robert, shut up in his chamber, meditated on futurity, and his imagination already pictured an ideal of perfection.

Cynthia had instructed him in the very religion of Jesuitism, and her own example gave a vast emphasis to her instructions. Often had

the household heard the sound of a whip; and Camilla, an elder sister, had told him how she had been in their mother's chamber, unperceived, and seen her lay her shoulders bare, and lash them fearfully, until reverence for the mother alone restrained the child from rushing out of her hiding-place, and ending the penance by snatching away the knotted scourge. Already he had written acrostics on VIRGINITY, and composed stanzas in dispraise of the world. And now he fancied that, in Padua, he might find some outlet from the world. The words of a Prophet, which he had often heard in chant, resounded again within him in the silence of his chamber: "O that I had wings like a dove! then would I fly away, and be at rest." On this his mind lingered. In this his heart became entangled—"and be at rest." Then, holding colloquy with himself, it seemed as if voices answered again from the depth of his bosom. Nay, it seemed as if an angel spake, advising renunciation of the world, provoking courage to abandon its endearments, and impelling him to fling away its honours.

In this frame of mind he left Montepulciano, and came to Padua; not roused from the dream by the conversation of his travelling-companion and master, the Jesuit Sgariglia. One object henceforth absorbed his thoughts. He sought some religious order, within whose inclosure he might delight himself in the fragrance of discipline, contemplate models of perfection, plunge

AT STUDY.

into the depths of science, lay hold on what is most excellent, and learn to reject all that is mean and vile. And he was led to believe that such a home for his weary soul would be found in the Society of Jesus. Sgariglia directed his literary pursuits, and guided his aspirations towards the summit of repose. His cousin Ricciardo caught the flame, which now enwrapped them both; and, consumed with desire after this heaven upon earth, they communicated intelligence of the passion—to their fathers? No. That would have been consulting with flesh and blood. Being now too spiritual to condescend so low, they sent up their prayer for acceptance to Diego Laynez, General of the Jesuits at Rome, beseeching him to admit them into the army of Jesus Christ.

An answer to their letter came without delay. Laynez offered them welcome; but, that Robert might gain his object by the gentlest way, (*ut qui vellet Robertum id quàm mollissimâ viâ consequi,*) directed them to ask leave of their fathers.

By this time Robert was about seventeen years of age; and when the report of his attachment to Jesuitism reached his father, the good man was astounded at intelligence which he might reasonably have expected, and began to bemoan the frustration of those hopes that he had set on the most promising of his children, having counted on him, chiefly, for a repair of the fortunes of the family, now considerably reduced. Both the

BELLARMINE

young cousins were in secret correspondence with the General of the Jesuits, their fathers being kept in utter ignorance. Vincenzo first, observing that his son Robert was frequently in private conversation with his cousin Richard, suspected what was going on ; but when the request came to permit him to take the Jesuit habit, it was bitter indeed. Robert talked high about a vocation of the Holy Spirit. The father, for fear of the Inquisition, durst not demur to the idea that the Holy Spirit of God called people into the bosom of Jesuitism ; but he wished to see some proof of constancy in the lad, some evidence of the Divine will. Robert persisted in pleading a heavenly summons to the Company, but his father sternly forbade him to enter a Jesuit church, or to speak with a Jesuit, for twelve months, and required him only to attend mass in a church of the Dominicans. The General had allowed them to remain at home for that period ; and the two mothers danced with joy when they found that, by a half-measure of the husbands, they and the boys had gained all their hearts' desire. Cynthia, however, found that her husband was firmer than he had seemed to be, and therefore gave him no rest, day nor night. He resisted. She fretted, and fell sick ; and then he relented for a little. The residence of Alessandro Cervini, at a place called Vivo, served as a temporary school. Alessandro himself acted as master ; and, adapt-

AT STUDY.

ing his lessons to the scenery around, expounded the Georgics. Young Richard applied himself to Greek in the Books of Aristotle *de Poësi*. Erminio, his brother, afterwards Protonotary Apostolic, and Referendary of both Signatures, read Demosthenes *de Coronâ*, and Robert dived into Cicero *pro Milone*. All this time they held themselves to be novices of the Society.

Robert, already an ecclesiastic in heart, felt that manner of life to be insufficient to satisfy his vocation, and using that licence which the Church of Rome loves to reward rather than to check, turning it, whether good or evil, to her own account, mounted the pulpit of the parish church without any invitation; and on festal days gathered the country-people together, preached to them in a very simple way, but with impassioned fervour, and, after the sermons, catechised them in the superficial but captivating manner just introduced by the Jesuits themselves. Two of his lady relatives were determined by one of those sermons, as is related, to go into a nunnery. Meanwhile, Monks of different orders invited him to join their families; the Dominicans, not unreasonably, desired him, as possessing the right kind of talent for a preaching Friar. His father went so far as to consent for him to become a Dominican, but absolutely refused to give him to the Company. Robert, "with modest liberty," said that he was called to that community, had

BELLARMINE

already performed a novitiate of twelve months, and could not draw back without manifestly resisting the Holy Spirit. Father and son contended hotly, and many were the battles that they fought. At length the boy conquered, the mother exulted, and the poetic fire of the young novice flamed in a composition of heroic verses written to celebrate the defeat. "We should offer up to God," said Cynthia, "the best we have."

That was a notable day when Robert and his cousin were to set out for the great city. Relatives and friends filled the house. The lads vied with each other in showing how bravely they could snap the cord of natural affection. Some of the party checked their tears, or were less touched with sadness because of less intimate relationship. Many wept outright. Cynthia displayed her miserable piety by surrendering the prize to Sgariglia and his fraternity without a tear. Vincenzo, the father, a fine man, then in the best of his days, sobbed like an infant, and after the last embrace wailed aloud. Robert, setting his young foot in scorn upon wealth, rank, kindred, honour, and love too, stepped coolly over the parental threshold, and leaped upon his horse. As his father saw him ride away, he cried, "There goes the hope of our family! That is the one who might have raised us up again. He might have renewed the memory of his uncle." His uncle was a Pope; and as the Jesuits professed to be shut

WELCOMED AT ROME.

out from all ecclesiastical preferment and civil dignities, the good man could have no idea that this lad would rise to be a Cardinal, but thought that he was thenceforth buried in sworn poverty.

WELCOMED AT ROME.

Bellarmino first saw Rome on the 20th of September, 1560. His cousin entered the city with him, but died four years afterwards in the College of Loreto. Going directly to the House of Jesus, Robert found a cordial welcome, such as might well be given to the representative of a Papal family. Enraptured with the attainment of the object so long coveted, he almost fancied himself numbered with the inhabitants of heaven. To his mind Ignacio, the founder, was perfect above all that ever had been mortal; and his ambition, while treading on the same ground, and living within the walls that had resounded with his voice, was to be more like Ignacio than like himself. On the very day of entrance he implored permission* to take the vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty, "a threefold cord, not easily to be broken, whereby he might bind himself most closely to Christ and to His cross."

Ten days were spent in "the retreat," meditating, according to custom, on themes prescribed, exercising himself in that submission of the thoughts to the guidance of superiors, and that abnegation of the will in abandoning the thoughts to the direction of another mind, which

BELLARMINE

is at once the weakness and the strength of Jesuitism.* There they taught him his soul was to be nourished, a hidden life revived, and his heart cleansed from all the stains it had contracted since the day of baptism. Then he took the habit of the order, and entered on the duties of the house. Those duties were to exercise him in humility ; and, accordingly, the scion of the Bellarmini and Cervini went into the kitchen, officiated in the scullery, scoured the kettles, washed the dishes, cleansed the tables, and chopped wood. In the refectory, too, he served up the dinner. In the dormitory he made the beds. All over the house he swept the floors. Services beneath enumeration he performed, and all with exquisite self-satisfaction. "For, as a prudent novice, he considered this to be an opportunity of the highest value, that the tower of perfection might be erected on the foundation of humility."†

IN THE ROMAN COLLEGE.

Scarcely had a fortnight passed from his first admission, when he was transferred to the

* For an insight into these exercises, and the discipline to which Novices are now subjected, I would refer to "The Novitiate: or, the Jesuit in Training," &c. By Andrew Steinmetz. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

† Let it be understood that quotations, unaccompanied by any foot-note, are translated from the "Vita Roberti Bellarmini, &c., à Jacobo Fuligatto Soc. Jesu. Italicè

IN THE ROMAN COLLEGE.

Roman College, there to study, and recognised as a member of Society. So rapid a promotion sounds very strangely now ; but it was possible in those early days. The year that intervened between his leaving Padua and appearing in Rome, during which time he had been under the observation, and perhaps under the guidance, of Jesuits, was counted as a period of probation. His vows, it must also be observed, were every year taken anew, until his juniority was fairly past. Perhaps the rapidity of his admission, with dispensation of a regular novitiate, was the effect of discernment rather than precipitancy ; but Laynez, setting aside the usual guard of probation, professed to do so in honour of the new comer's uncle, Marcellus II. ; but the precedent was dangerous, and the fifth General Congregation recorded a law, that no future General should be at liberty to dispense thus.*

Of his obedience, too, there was no question, and in that virtue, or quality, whichever it may be in the case of a Jesuit, he seemed cordially to delight. "I only wish," he said, some time after this, to the Secretary, Polanco, "to perform those things to which a holier and better will appoints me ; even if that will should command me perpetually to teach rhetoric, or to *primùm scripta : à Silvestro Petra Sancta Latinè reddita. Antwerpizæ, M.DC.XXXI.*"

* Ristretto della Vita di Roberto Cardinal Bellarmino, &c. Dal P. Francesco Marazzani. Bologna. Capo II.

BELLARMINE

instruct children of the lowest class in Latin. For on this I calculated from the very day when I entered into this holy Society; and on this I have resolved, whenever I may leave Rome, and on this very day I wish it to be taken as a point settled. And that I may never ask anything for myself inconsistent with obedience, to change my abode, for example, or anything else, I this day beseech the General to grant me nothing under the idea of showing me a kindness, but only if, without regard to any request of mine, the most exact rule of obedience would require the very thing that I ask. For I would rather be preserved from error at the cost of pain, than to commit an error, and have what I desire. For assuredly I cannot err, so long as I obey." If all this had been addressed to God, instead of being written to Polanco, it would have been a good exposition of the Christian's daily prayer, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

Under the direction of Pedro Parra, a Spaniard, he completed a course of philosophy, extending through three years, and won great applause. But although his application to study was not severe, the ascetic discipline of the place broke his health, and for some time the physicians apprehended symptoms of consumption. This induced the superiors, considering also that their College at Rome was overcrowded, to send him to Florence, where he might breathe in

BEGINS TO TEACH.

the more salubrious atmosphere of his native province.

BEGINS TO TEACH.

Too scantily supplied with money, Robert set out for Florence, and would have had great difficulty in finishing the journey, if a Spanish gentleman, with whom he met, had not assisted him. Weary and pale, he made his appearance at the College, more like an applicant for admission into a hospital, than a master come thither to teach. A physician exhausted the resources of his art upon the patient with little effect ; but after some time he rallied, and application to his new duties rather hastened than retarded the restoration of health. For the first time he discharged the duties of a teacher.

And now the juvenile attempts at preaching were succeeded by more public and more effective efforts. Two sermons in the great church, delivered with much fluency, full of imagination, elegant, and not unlearned, drew the attention of the Florentine academicians. Then he appeared on feast-days, in the same place, reciting verses of his own, said to be remarkable for richness, melody, and figure, and charmed the ear of numerous assemblages. When opportunity occurred, he made himself and the Society conspicuous by disputing with the learned concerning the nature of the universe ; and although a report of those disquisitions would

BELLARMINE

now minister more amusement than instruction, we may be sure that they contributed much, at that time, to strengthen his influence over the pupils at the College, and to win admiration from the public. In short, he became a sort of oracle, and, after having been resorted to for the solution of numberless mysteries in sciences yet unlearned, he felt himself competent to explain, to a company of academicians, "the doctrine of the sphere of the world; questions concerning the situation and the magnitude of the heavenly bodies; concerning their going and coming; concerning the power of the stars; and particularly concerning their distribution under the figures of men and beasts." Perhaps it was about the very time of the appearance of Bellarmine in Florence in quality of astrologer, that Galileo drew his first breath in the same city; and he grew up to appear before the lecturer under an accusation of heresy in regard to the going and coming of those *corpora suprema*. But more of this hereafter.

After shiiving in Florence for one year, our youthful Doctor was sent to Mondovì, a town in the present kingdom of Sardinia, not far northward of the junction of the Apennines and Maritime Alps. There he announced an explication of certain books, and, especially, "Demosthenes, a Greek author," to revive the knowledge of Greek. "Robert was altogether ignorant of the

BEGINS TO TEACH.

Greek language ; but what was wanting in learning, mind and industry supplied." He converted the occasion into an opportunity for learning Greek, first mastering the rudiments of the grammar, which he set forth with magisterial confidence, telling his audience that "that foreign language was equally useful and difficult, but they must begin with the elements, in order to proceed more certainly." Advancing from alphabet to nouns—thence to verbs—thence to constructing—and on to Isocrates, Demosthenes, or any other author, he at length acquired a pretty considerable smattering, and passed for master without much difficulty. The readers of Bellarmine may be recommended to bear in mind this origin of his acquirements in Greek while they weigh his criticisms. Although he revived Greek among the boys at Mondovi, they will not mistake him for a Chrysoloras.

At home he exemplified obedience and industry. One might have thought that all the burdens of the house rested upon him alone. He was last in bed, and first out. Early in the mornings he roused the fellows by putting lamps upon their tables, performing the function of waker-up. At table he officiated as reader. It was he who ran for a Priest when any one fell sick. At the door he answered as porter. For any menial office he was ready. At home he gave exhortations without end : abroad, he delivered sermons and grew popular. Everywhere

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quite at home, he would step into a neighbouring convent of Dominicans, take a cheerful glass of wine, and away to his appointment. In the pulpit, a place where old men trembled, he knew no trepidation, and must have admired the simplicity of devout women, who, mistrusting the powers of so juvenile an orator, dropped on their knees, as he rose in "the superior place," and prayed for him to be helped through the sermon. Every one wondered at his versatility; grave Clerks clustered around him at the foot of the pulpit-stairs, and kissed his hands; and the Rector of the College of Mondovì, writing of his wonderful eloquence to the General at Rome, thought that it could only be expressed by the appropriation of a sentence that should have checked the flattery,—“Never man spake like this man.” When travelling, he stopped at each village, and gave a sermon to the rustics. He bent at the shrine of every saint that lay in his way, and strove to vanquish the unfriendliness of the older monkhoods by paying special reverence to their favourite saints, and by encouraging the common people to frequent their altars.

From Mondovì he went to Padua, the scene of early studies, and there acquired fresh fame. Francesco Adorno, the Provincial, sent him thither, deeming his talent necessary for the public service; and there, amidst brisk dispute concerning election and reprobation, he seems to

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have essayed his controversial powers with considerable effect. This took place in the year 1567. Sometimes he sat at the feet of Doctors, and heard them heavily emitting disquisitions on law and metaphysics; and thence rushed into the pulpit, and gave his mind free reaction in delivering popular addresses. At Venice, on one of the days before the carnival, when all Priests are expected to be very zealous in preaching down immorality, with the general understanding that there will be much of it abroad, he declaimed grandly against the licentiousness of those days to a vast congregation; and, at the close of that oration, several Senators did him the honour of kissing his hands.

Next we find him at Genoa, taking part in a meeting of the Jesuits of the province, receiving strong patronage from the superiors, and figuring high in those exhibitions of dialectic subtilty, whereby they were wont to impress the multitude with admiration of the learning and intellectual resources of the order. In rhetoric, logic, physics, and metaphysics, young Bellarmine had no superior within hearing; and at length the Provincial commanded the President of a great assembly to permit him to speak without restriction. He did so; and, after amazing the learned, he suddenly turned to the people, "passing from the chair of wisdom to the gate of virtue," and with impassioned gravity exhorted both Clergy and laity to take heed to themselves.

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The more deeply read perceived that he had recited great part of a homily of St. Basil.

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The Fathers at Rome saw that his talent was too powerful to be limited to ordinary service, and resolved that the skill in disputation displayed at Genoa in academic skirmishing, should be spent in real warfare with the chiefs of the Reformation. In that view the Spaniard, Francisco de Borja, General of the Company, wrote to the Rector of the College of Padua, commanding him to send Robert Bellarmine to Louvain, there to prosecute the study of theology, and to preach in Latin. When the mandate came, the young Preacher had just surrounded himself with fresh applause, and the Rector, building large hopes on the profit to be derived from his zeal and popularity, was unwilling to lose such a workman, yet unable to disobey the General. He therefore acknowledged the receipt of the letter ; but represented that the constitution of the young brother was very delicate ; that physicians gave their judgment against his undertaking a journey at that season of the year, for it was winter, and it would endanger his life then to cross the Alps ; and he also intimated that the loss to the Society at Padua by his removal would be irreparable, and an occasion of grief to every member of the Academy. But

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remonstrance was vain. Pius V. was laying the foundation of the Palace of the Inquisition in Rome, and the Inquisitors were sweeping Italy of heretics without resistance. Controversialists had little to do in those parts where imprisonment, burning, and drowning silenced argument. Not so in France and Belgium, where armies had but half conquered the Reformation, and where the doctrine of the Gospel was known well enough to engage the assent of multitudes of the people, and even to bring over some of the Clergy to the side of truth. The General received other letters of remonstrance, written with extreme earnestness ; but he knew that this Preacher would be more effectively employed in Belgium ; and merely allowing him to remain at Padua over the winter, then required him to proceed to Louvain without more delay. The Church in that country was infected, he said, with the poison of heresy, and a skilful surgeon was wanted there to search her wounds.

Bellarmino professed himself willing to scale the Alps, although their heights were horrid with ice, and touched the skies, rather than lose an hour in hastening to the spot whither the supreme pleasure sent him. Great was the joy in Rome on seeing so noble a person as the nephew of Pope Marcellus present himself as a living victim on the altar of obedience ; and as soon as the Alpine passes were open, the willing

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messenger, accompanied with one Father Jacques, a Belgian, set out from Milan. One Irishman, and three Englishmen, among whom was William Allen, the incendiary of English Romaniasts, afterwards Cardinal, made up a congenial party. In good health and spirits, after a perilous journey, they reached Louvain, and he delivered his first sermon in that city on the 25th of July, 1569.

The Belgians wondered at the sight of so young a man in the pulpit ; for although nearly twenty-seven years of age, he looked much younger. But this was nothing in comparison with the novelty of a layman preaching, in the eyes of people who had never seen the pulpit occupied by any except a Priest in sacerdotal vestments. If we might believe on the testimony of Andrew Wise, a Knight of Malta, and Grand Prior of England, the want of robes was more than made up by an envelopment of light that surrounded him when in the pulpit, while his face shone as the face of an angel. The Fathers of Louvain, therefore, besought their General to obtain a licence for the stranger to receive sacred orders, although regulations then in force made the ordination of any but a Jesuit professed depend on a special licence from the Pope. The licence was readily granted ; and at Liege he received the first tonsure, the four lesser orders, and the diaconate. At Ghent the Bishop Cornelius Jansenius made him Deacon, and then

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conferred on him the priesthood.* Robed in sacerdotal honour, Bellarmine returned to Louvain, and felt himself another man.

Invested, also, with pontifical authority, and with no less boldness than subtility,—for he never knew diffidence,—he poured forth floods of eloquence that captivated those whom it did not convince, and they boast that “heretics” in great number came from Holland, and even from England, to hear him ; and that not a few, overwhelmed by his talent, renounced Protestantism, and were reconciled to Rome. Whether there were any so simple, and, if so, how many, is a question of slight importance. Every one agreed that he was the most clever Preacher in all Popedom at that time. The Clergy of Paris earnestly desired to have him in their midst. The Cardinal-Archbishop Borromeo craved him for Milan. The Belgian Fathers kept a close hold on him for Louvain ; but, in truth, it best pleased the Pope to keep him to that chosen field, where he might hold up the Roman standard, cultivate his peculiar talent, and serve Romanism better than any other man of his age.

He was now to teach theology in the University. Although he had preached from childhood,

* This Jansenius is not to be confounded with the famous Doctor of Louvain, whose followers are known as Jansenists. The name of each was Cornelius ; but the latter, and more eminent man, was not born until the year 1585.

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and even while a layman had risen to peerless eminence as a Preacher, he was not considered a divine. He had only spent one year in the study of scholastic theology at Louvain; but, in truth, he knew quite enough for the purpose, and, all formalities being dispensed with, he received the title of Doctor, and took the professorial chair in the beginning of October, 1570,—“first of the Society who, with most prosperous beginnings, taught *supreme wisdom* in that city.”

To combat with the scholars of reformed Christendom was no light undertaking, at the best; but having begun to teach polemics in the sight of Europe, he discovered, to a degree that he had not anticipated, his imperfect preparation for the work. The interpretation of holy Scripture by means of Hebrew learning, not, however, matured by liberal and profound study as it now is, gave character and immense advantage to the Reformation, as it brought men nearer to the fountains of revealed truth. But of Hebrew Bellarmine was as ignorant when he began to teach theology, as he was untaught in Greek when he began, at Mondovì, to lecture on “Demosthenes, a Greek author.” However, he mastered the elements of the grammar in a week, which was no very remarkable achievement; and then a vocabulary, not what we should acknowledge to be a lexicon, (*tantum adhibito codice vocabulorum*,) without any of the learning

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really needed by an expositor, set him up. Furnished with this apparatus, he drilled his pupils in Greek and Hebrew, making those exertations serve himself as a study, and so he learned by teaching.

Gifted with a most rapid perception, and capable of iron perseverance, he turned over the Fathers, aided, of course, by Latin versions of the Greeks, and searched the Councils. Folio after folio passed under keen review. Others had gone before him in the same path; humbler brethren would aid in the mechanical processes of reference; and the exigencies already discovered and overcome by such men as Laynez, theologian at Trent, no doubt led to the accumulation of helps to be placed at his command. One man had the glory, although the resources of a fraternity were at his disposal; yet, even so, none but a man of great industry could have done so much as he did. And it appears, by his own statements, that the composition of his voluminous works was neither more nor less than the prosecution of a study. He entered at once on controversy, working his way through by means of material presented at the time, rather than producing, as those do who, in the latter years of life, bring things new and old out of long-gathered treasures.

On the octave of St. Peter and St. Paul, in the year 1572, the rising Doctor earned a new reward of diligence by elevation to the order of

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the Professed of four vows,—a distinction only conferred on those who are deemed worthy of entire confidence, and fit to be admitted into the secret of higher counsels. In obedience to the summons of his superiors, he took the fourth vow of obedience to the Supreme Pontiff, and his successors, “as to the Vicar of Christ the Lord, to go forth, without excuse, and without asking for any provision for the journey, to any nation whatever, at the command of His Holiness, either among believers or infidels, on such service as might tend to the worship of God and the good of the Christian religion.”* And it would appear, that he strove to sustain the new honour by those observances of sanctimony which were considered proper for one admitted into the first ranks of “the Religious.” And as the history of such an one demands the adorning of gifts correspondent to the favours of earthly superiors, the biography of Bellarmine is at this time embellished with a miracle. That no secondary representation may attenuate its grandeur, Fuligatto himself shall exhibit this first-fruit of his profession. Hear him, thus :—

“There was in the College of Louvain, while Robert was residing there, one of the Society” (no very independent witness in the cause) “who had had, for many years, a running ulcer in his leg.” (Ulcers, as the readers of my

* *Constitutiones Societatis Jesu. Exam. Gen. i., 5.*

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biography of St. Francis Xavier may remember, furnish some interesting details for the history of the Society.) "Physicians and surgeons had tried all the succours of their art, but had not cured the wound. The patient, therefore, anxious in mind, and seeing that human care was mastered by the pertinacity of the disease, began to consider within himself whether there was any man made after God's heart, (*factus ad cor Dei*,) by whose prayer a way to recovery might be opened to him; and while he was thus meditating within himself, Bellarmine appeared to be an effectual and grateful offerer of prayer to God; and a hope sprang up within him that he might at once recover, if, after sacred confession, he could also be refreshed *by him* in the communion. His faith was not vain. The Rector consented. He deposited the secret of his conscience in the ears of Robert, from his hand received the most holy eucharist, and, behold, his leg was restored to soundness. The surgeon was astonished, when in two or three days he saw the wound covered with living and native skin, and the slightest trace of so long disease did not remain upon the part."

Most opportune was this miracle of healing on the sore leg. It was performed just at the exact moment when all expected it. The skin was native, even though the lesion of the skin had been artificial. The object of faith was Robert. The subject of faith was an obscure Jesuit bro-

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ther. The effect of faith was the cicatrisation of a sore. The instrument of faith was mass after confession,—an instrument most proper to be exalted for the confusion of heresy in Belgium and Holland. And the triumph of faith—unless popular unbelief should hinder—would consist in the glory of transubstantiation, of Robert, and of the Jesuits. Admirable calculation!

His intellectual power was displayed, far less equivocally than his power of working miracles, by the composition of a work in confutation of opinions put forth by Michael Baius, a scholar of Louvain. Yet, by avoiding the name of his antagonist, whose doctrine the Pope, Pius V., had condemned already, he covered himself from the inconvenience of an open combat, and no less merited the favourable consideration of his order and “the Sacred College.” Probably this achievement had hastened his assumption into the ranks of the professed.

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Before the expiration of the year wherein he took the fourth vow, the Belgian horizon darkened suddenly. Some cities of the province cast off their allegiance to Philip II. of Spain; and a rumour flew that the Prince of Orange was on his march with overwhelming forces to attack Louvain. The city was quite unprepared to stand against him, and men were all trembling, and Monks trembled even more than they.

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The religious recollected the horrid slaughtering committed by the Duke of Alva, and, conscious that they had themselves instigated executions, dragonnades, and inquisitions, they expected vengeance every moment. Then came the alarm that Orange was in sight, even at the gates. The population turned out under arms. The Monks decamped, swift, like a flight of scared pigeons. The Rector of the Jesuit College, unwilling to abandon a scene where, haply, he might have some part to play, directed all the inmates to change their clothes, shave their hair, and seek shelter in safe places. They quickly swept away the tonsured hair, took some cash in their pockets, vacated the house, and resolving the community into pairs, each pair of fugitives chose the house wherein to lurk, or the road by which to flee. Bellarmine and his companion preferred flight, chose to seek Douai as the place of shelter, and set out on foot, girded with swords, and quivering with fear. For his part, however, he had little strength for such a pilgrimage; and, after hurrying onward for some time, his limbs failed, and, panting, pale, and but half alive, he sank down on the road-side. There his companion, too, lay by him in sad fraternity of trouble; sounds of horse-hoofs, and shouts of Calvinists, seeming to beat upon their ears. Soon they descried a party approaching from the direction of Louvain; and while plunged in fresh terror by the thought

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that they might be pursuers of such persons as themselves, they perceived a permanent gallows erected at some short distance, for hanging criminals, according to the custom of those times. "Take heart, my brother," sighed Bellarmine ; "for, if I mistake not, we shall soon hang there. There only wants a Calvinist hangman." Flight was hopeless ; for how could fainting footmen like them escape from the swift-wheeled chariot that neared them rapidly each instant ? "All things appeared ready ; and if those enemies should fall upon them, there were the instruments of martyrdom prepared."

Amidst these premonitions of death, they saw the chariot bound over the ground, as if the horses had been winged—the driver plied his lash—they came near, the passengers were themselves half dead with terror ; but seeing two persons in an attitude of supplication by the way-side, took them to be fellow-sufferers, drew up, and kindly called them to come in. It was a company of "Catholics," also fleeing from the enemy, and finding that of the two men one was no less than a disrobed Priest, they took him in, and resumed their speed towards Douai. "Then," said Cardinal Crescenzo, when the incident had become historical, "by a miracle of Providence he was preserved from death, yet not defrauded of the glory of martyrdom, an occasion which he doubted not that he should embrace with alacrity of mind." This notion of *alacrity* was an after-

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thought; but the sight of a gallows had suggested the dread of martyrdom, and thus the shadow of a martyrdom comes in opportunely enough, and next in order after the narrative of a miracle. This event bespeaks canonisation.

After a short absence he returned to Louvain. Seven years' toil in Belgium had impaired his health, which was yet further weakened by the shock of war, and he became obviously unable to pursue his labours with such vigour as formerly. This the physicians certified by letter to Rome, and the Fathers there called him back to Italy.

To reach the monumental city from Douai, it befell the traveller to cross a region infected with Lutheran and Calvinian pestilence. In those places the habit of a religious man, and the name of a Priest, were hateful things. "Therefore the Fathers persuaded him to use the common dress of a man of the world, and to set out on his journey with such equipments as travellers of the laity use. He rode with belt and sword, and carried fire-arms on the pommel of his saddle." Clad in a habit "so unlike his virtue," he had scarcely left the city, when two travellers, heretics, whose names have not been accepted for the ornament of history, asked him to join company for Italy. His name, however, is made known, for he passed as *Romulo*; and the strangers were intensely pleased with the good fellowship and talent of their Italian companion. His knowledge of the language, and

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even his acquaintance with some part of the way, made him useful; so much so, that they were glad of his services to give directions for the accommodation of the party at the inns. Most carefully he threw aside all that might betray his priestly character, joked as merrily as any, and often rode onward, as if in sport, or as if to reach an inn and order provision, but, in reality, to pull out his prayer-book, and perform his devotion. At length they crossed the Alps. As they drew near to Genoa, the Italian air brought him a flush of rekindling health, and he entered that city, in company with the heretics, under the same guise of a profane layman. Relaxing none of his attentions, he conducted them to a lodging-house, told them he was going to the house of a friend, and, thus saying, disappeared. A day or two afterwards, having strolled into a church, as curious Protestants are wont to do, the travellers beheld their assiduous friend, robed at the altar, saying mass; and recalling his features, which were very marked, —two keen eyes, a serene and broad forehead, an aquiline nose, and most expressive mouth,—they looked wisely at each other, and exclaimed, “Théré is our friend Romulo, changed into a Jesuit!”

At Genoa he found two orders from the General. By the first he was forbidden to go to Milan, where the Archbishop, Cardinal Borromeo, was anxious to have him as a helper against

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the cause of truth, that had long been largely diffused throughout Subalpine Italy, but which was now to be suppressed, if possible, by French dragoons. But the Pope's Vicar, Cardinal Savelli, wanted him in Rome. By the second order, he was instructed to go onward by way of Montepulciano, see his aged father, and endeavour to recruit his health.

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Gregory XIII., one of the Pontiffs that laboured most successfully to promote a counter-Reformation, and suppress evangelical religion by consecutive operations and well-constructed schemes, patronised Jesuitism, his chief instrument, with greater munificence than any of his predecessors. The subjects of the Papal States remember him as one of the most relentless Popes that ever wore them down with burdens of taxation. The Jesuits extol him with all that pomp of language that is so peculiarly at their command. No fewer than twenty-two colleges were erected for them at his bidding; and he disbursed, on the single account of maintaining scholastics, no less, it is said, than two millions of ducats during his reign. The system of Propaganda education then took the character which it retains to this day; for, after inclosing streets and allotting revenues, he saw the Seminary of all Nations opened, and heard orations in twenty-five languages, all translated into

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Latin, on the day of opening. Each student was taught to consider himself as a young soldier, whose only duty would be to march to the conquest of Protestantism, under the banner of the Company. He was to be formed for victory.

Bellarmino, by common consent, was chosen to be the leader of this band; and the General informed him that it must be his duty to do at Rome, but on a grander scale, what he had been doing at Louvain. There, as Professor of Scholastic Theology, he had taught languages, and entertained the wondering students out of a sort of cyclopædia of erudition, while his writings against Baius, and the necessity laid on him to strive against the influences of the Reformation, had induced a strongly controversial habit, and made him famous as a disputant. He was extremely mild, politic, and winning, and therefore was just the fit man to train a generation of emissaries, to throw themselves into the heat of the battle throughout Europe. One Bellarmine was thought equal to conduct the enterprise, "just as one Hebrew woman, whom God armed with beauty, wrought confusion in the camp of Holofernes, and in the house of the King of Assyria." This conception was proud; but it indicated an apprehension that artifice would be needed in war with the Reformation, no less than force.

About the end of October, 1576, he entered on his new chair of controversial Theology in Rome. The "General Controversies," as they

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are called, or Controversial Lectures, occupy four folio volumes of the edition before me, and are considered to be second to nothing that has ever been written in defence of the Church of Rome. But those who love the charm of great names, and could weep to see one such name despoiled of the charm, as a child would weep over the shattering of a lily, will not thank me for giving them the analysis of the first part of an address delivered by Bellarmine in the Gymnasium in Rome, in the year 1577. It is prefatory to the "controversy" concerning the Supreme Pontiff.*

Before entering on the disputation, he has to premise some observations on its utility and magnitude, on the antagonists in argument, and on the order to be followed. The matter now treated of, but which is called in question, is great indeed. "For of what are we speaking, when we speak of the primacy of the Pontiff? We speak of nothing less than the sum and substance of Christianity itself. For the question is simply whether the Church ought to last any longer, or to be dissolved, and fall to ruin. For what else can be meant, when you ask whether the foundation should be taken away from the building, the shepherd from the flock, the general from the army, the sun from the stars, or the head from the body; that the building may fall,

* Roberti Bellarmini Opera, Colon. Agrip., MDCXX., tom. i., p. 498, seq.

the flock be scattered, the army beaten, the stars darkened, the body die?"

The adversaries, he affirms, although disagreeing among themselves on every other point, agree in attacking the Papal See; and there were never any enemies of Christ and the Church, who did not also hate the Pope. "Isaiah seems to me to have long ago foreseen and predicted the magnitude and utility of this matter, when he said, 'Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone, a sure foundation.' But he also predicts the contention and violence of heretics, when he calls this stone itself 'a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence.' Which last words, although not put by Isaiah in the same place, the Apostles Paul and Peter so join all these words of the Prophet, that no one can doubt that they refer to the same end, and are to the same purport. And although we are not ignorant that these words principally apply to Christ, *we consider that they may not inaptly be made to suit the Vicar of Christ.*"

The foundations of Zion he understands to be the twelve Apostles, according to St. John; but the one singular and chief stone mentioned by Isaiah, he considers to be Peter; and for this he argues in the usual manner. Jews, Heathens, Greeks, and Turks have in vain spent their fury on this foundation-stone. Emperors have enacted tragedies in the Church. The devil has moved

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the Roman people (often) to rebel against the Pope. Internal schisms have threatened the existence of the Papacy; but, even while anti-Popes were struggling in the chair of Peter, they could not break it. The gates of hell could not prevail against it; and, although there had been Popes of little worth in that chair, it had not sunk under them. It outlasted Stephen VI., Leo V., Christopher I., Sergius III., John XII., and others not a few, showing proof that its continuance does not depend upon purity and morality in its occupants. Notwithstanding all this wickedness, which our lecturer confesses without reserve, he maintains that it is divinely founded, and kept erect by guardian angels, and by the singular providence of God. That the Papacy is fitly called a corner-stone, and precious, he expounds in some pretty common-places; and then, as to its being a foundation-stone, argues thus:—

“*In fundamento fundatum.** ‘FOUNDED IN A FOUNDATION.’ For what is founded in a foundation, except it be a foundation after a foundation, a secondary foundation, not a primary? Of course, we are not ignorant that the

* So says the new Vulgate, in violation of the letter of the Hebrew original, מוֹסָד מוֹסָד—well translated in our own Version, “sure foundation;” by Lowth, “immovably fixed;” by the Jewish Ferrara, “cimiento á cimentado;” and so by others. The ancient Latin versions, as collected by Sabatier, all contradict the Vulgate.

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first and principal foundation of the Church is Christ, of whom the Apostle says, 'Other foundation can no man lay, except that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus.' But after Christ, the foundation is Peter; and no one can come to Christ, except by Peter." At this rate he travels to the end of his oration, and at the same rate he dashes through the controversy. A false translation, a bold substitution of one idea for another, an insolent contradiction of the plain text of Scripture, serves as a starting-point; and, this point once taken, there is no conclusion to which he cannot arrive by the most severe logic. Let him take his premiss, and you must grant him his conclusion. Great copiousness of patristic lore stands in the stead of sound elementary learning; and, like many others of his age, he passed for wise, because dressed in a grotesque robe of erudition, and seemed formidable to many who allowed themselves, enslaved by a fashion prevalent, to fall into the same illusion. Of this the Romanists gloried, and claimed the victory; but whenever these famous controversies are submitted to the test of such criticism as is now familiar to every well-educated Protestant theologian, the Bellarminian web is found to be thinner than gossamer.

Simultaneously with his labours as Professor, he was occupied, under the command of the Pope and the General, in preparing a collection of his works for publication, the first folio

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volume of which bears date in 1581. In the preparation of those volumes he was assisted by some of the most learned and subtle censors that could be found, but chiefly by Muzio Vitelleschi, the General, Benedetto Giustiniani, and Andreas Eudæmon Johannes, a Greek. These all testified that no one could be more willing to resign his own opinion, and pay deference to the judgment of his advisers, whose revision of his labours extended even to the last syllable. And in this we discover one great reason of his acceptance at Rome.

Not yet being made a Cardinal, he could not sit in the Consistory ; but constant use was made there of his information. The Cardinal of Santa Severina, Patriarch of all the East, and Chief of the Holy Inquisition, borrowed the counsels of Bellarmine in regard to all the eastern churches, then subjected to the fearful discipline of that Tribunal.

I have elsewhere * spoken of the atrocities perpetrated by the Inquisition in India. Let it suffice here to say, that Bellarmine took a most active part in the ruin of the Syrian Church. He saw Mar Simeon, Bishop of Malabar, and Mar Joseph, Bishop of Cochin, perish in Rome. He advised, with sanctimonious placidity, the nefarious felony of Alexo de Meneses in Diamper. But we shall have occasion again to note some other proceedings of Bellarmine, invested with full powers as Inquisitor.

* Brand of Dominic, chap. xx. *India.*

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It was at this time, associated with S. Filippo Neri, father of the Oratorians, and another less famous person, that he took part in the examination of a woman from Naples, who called herself a Prophetess, and reported her unfit to exercise the gift. The Pope, therefore, sent her home again with an injunction to mind her own matters, and abstain from the use of prophecy for the time to come; as if the Pope could countermand a Divine mission, if such a mission ever had been given to the Prophetess of Naples. His fame as an author was exalted to the highest pitch; and he was proclaimed scourge of heretics, flower of divines, the Athanasius and Augustine of his age, slayer of monsters, bulwark of the Church, pillar of Christian faith, avenger of Catholic truth, prince of writers. "The breast of Bellarmine is the library of Christ!" With less exaggerated praises, and going so far as his talent was to be described, a Protestant might concur. But when eulogy grows extravagant, a suspicion rises that the extravagance is thrown over the subject as a veil to hide it from closer search.

IS SENT TO FRANCE.

Amidst controversial and literary labours, and frequent correspondence with Cardinals and Inquisitors, who came, after the usual manner of the Roman Court, to employ him as their consultant, this leader of controversies received an

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order from the Pope to accompany his Legate, Cardinal Caetano, on a mission to Paris. His instructions required him to advise the Legate on all points relating to religion, or, in other words, to represent the ecclesiastical claims of the Pope, and watch for such an issue of the civil war, then raging, as might assure a conquest of the Reformation in France. Henry III. had been assassinated. Henry IV., successor to the throne, had been at the head of the Huguenots, although rather attached to them by family connexion and antipathy to the Guise faction, than by any purely religious motive. The Princes of the anti-Protestant league had risen in arms, to prevent the occupation of the throne by a heretic. The country was in a state of civil war. The first object of the Legation was, of course, to sustain the rebels, and to get rid of the Protestant King.

On his first appearance in this new character, the Parisians were disappointed. They expected to see a man who could figure with majesty in church, and, by a bold presence, command respect at court. But they saw a small person, more of a student than a courtier; and could scarcely believe that their eyes beheld the great Robert Bellarmine. A man of so high repute ought, as they deemed, to be of lofty stature. But he had no lack of courage, and displayed considerable zeal in carrying out the intentions of his masters. Strictly abiding by the letter of

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instructions from both the General and the Pope, he kept aloof from all affairs that were merely political, so far, at least, as ostensible participation went, and kept within his proper department as theological consultor of the Legate. The chief service he rendered was in aiding to repress a movement of nationality among the French Clergy, who were on the point of assembling in Council at Tours ; not without a disposition to elect a Patriarch of their own, and to withdraw their obedience from the See of Rome. The Legate, fearing that such a procedure would be but the beginning of a succession of national schisms, ending in the disintegration of the Popedom, sent, from the pen of Bellarmine, a letter to all the French Bishops, telling them that even if the Church were diseased, she had no authority to heal herself,—that it did not become the patient to prescribe the medicine. No one, he said, had power to convoke a Synod in France, so long as a Legate was in the kingdom : * it was the office of the Holy See to decide everything relating to faith and discipline. And he threatened to excommunicate all who presumed to go to Tours for such a purpose, to lay an interdict on the churches, and to hurl the Priests from their dignity into the depths of canonical censure.

* It was the prerogative of the Bishop of Arles to convoke a Synod of the French provinces, but in such terms as implied a royal permission to hold it. (*De Marca, De Concordiâ Sacerdotii et Imperii*, lib. v., cap. 17.)

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Threats of Roman thunder, and the sound of Navarrese artillery, deterred them from the execution of their purpose.

Meanwhile the situation of the Legate and his train became very critical. Henry IV., not yet acknowledged by the Parisians, sat down before the city, and made the walls tremble and all hearts quake. Bellarmine had seen some fighting in Italy, when a boy, and had fled at the sound of an enemy in Belgium; but here were to be encountered the horrors of a siege. People were feeding on dogs, and other unclean animals. The Spanish Ambassador and suite subsisted on horse-flesh; and the Fathers of the Jesuit College were indebted to him for occasional presents of this strange venison. Weeds, roots, or any vegetable substances, shoe-leather and harness, were employed to cheat the pangs of hunger. Prayers and litanies resounded for the deliverance of the city; and Bellarmine made himself admirable by the self-infliction of many penances. At length the siege was raised, and the Legate received instructions to withdraw from the seat of war, that Sixtus V. might not be so implicated as to incur the wrath of the stronger party.

The Legate, of course, had no disposition to remain. He had encouraged the Sorbonne to issue a declaration, that the people of the kingdom were absolved from their oath of allegiance and fidelity to King Henry; and that, without

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scruple of conscience, they might assemble, arm, and collect money for the support of the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion against his execrable proceedings. Bellarmine attended at the secret meetings of the Legate, and his confidential adherents; rose from his seat, and withdrew to a corner of the room, when strong measures were proposed; gave ear to nothing that would shock his meekness; merely said, when the question, Who should be King of France, was agitated: "I have nothing to do with politics; but I want to see a King in France that will establish the decrees of the Council of Trent." This meant that he would have Philip II. of Spain; not Henry, the actual Sovereign. And the doctrine he strenuously taught, tended to dethrone every Protestant Sovereign in the world. Yet he declared himself innocent of politics. However, Henry had possession. For argument, Henry used the sword. Even the Romanists in France were divided on the question; but the victor decided it by the "last reason of Kings."

But that the Pope should hesitate, in a case where the King resisted was a heretic, seemed grievous to these Ambassadors. The Legate resolved to go back to Rome; and Bellarmine, with a suspicious faculty of prescience, foretold that the Pope would not live long; nay, that he would die within that very year. Four months before that event, Sixtus had been suffering symptoms that became aggravated gradually,

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until the extinction of life; and "persons of good sense"—I now quote from Gregorio Leti—"thought it extremely probable that he had been poisoned." This impression was confirmed by the physicians, on a *post mortem* examination. The Spaniards were suspected, at Rome, of this crime; * and it is notorious, that his failure from promises made to the League in France to support them against Henry IV., exposed him to the violent resentment, both of the Spaniards and the Jesuits. It was remarkable, therefore, that Bellarmine should have exercised a prophetic gift just at that time, and in that manner. The Legate, having left the Pope in good health, as robust and headstrong as ever, thought his death unlikely; but the Jesuit constantly insisted that he would surely die. Had he calculated the time necessary for the poisonous solution generally used in Italy for that purpose, to take effect, he could not have been more exact. Accordingly, on the morning of September 19th, 1590, "finding a bundle of letters on the table, just brought from Rome, while every one present was guessing at their contents, Father Robert took up one, and, after trying the weight of it in his hand, somewhat jocosely said, *Qui dentro vi stà un Papa morto*, 'There is a dead Pope inside here.' " The Secretary of the Lega-

* L'Histoire de la Vie du Pape Sixte Cinquième, traduit de l'Italien de Gregorio Leti. Paris, 1698. Liv. x.

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tion opened this letter, announced to the company that Sixtus was really dead ; * and Caetano, anxious to take his place in the Conclave, instantly gave orders to quit Paris, and with his train, including the prophet, hurried back to Rome.

The pleasantry of Father Robert, weighing the letter laden with a dead Pope, is by no means unaccountable. Sixtus had branded him with heresy in the sight of the whole world, by placing his great work on the Controversies in the Index of prohibited books, because he only attributed to the Popes an indirect power over temporals out of Rome.† As soon as the Pope died, the controversialist was released from that literary durance. It was natural that he should anticipate the decease of so hard a master with pleasure, and even be off his guard in letting his pleasure be apparent. And it was equally natural that he should afterwards express himself in such words as these :—"To speak plainly, so far as I think, so far as I know, and so far as I understand, he is gone down to hell." ‡ If Sixtus had con-

* Marazzani, capo vi.

† In Mendham's reprint of the "Index Librorum Prohibitorum" of Sixt. V., the following prohibition occurs :—

Roberti Bellarminii Disputationes de controversiis Christianæ fidei adversus hujus tēporis hæreticos.	}	Nisi prius ex superioribus regulis recognitæ fuerint.
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‡ Quoted from Watson's Quodlibets by Mendham, Literary Policy of the Church of Rome, p. 105 and note.

RETURNS, AND REVISES THE VULGATE.

sented to take a Jesuit Confessor, had flattered the Society, had supported Spain and the League more vigorously against Henry of Navarre, and had been satisfied with the doctrine of Bellarmine as to his power over the temporalities of Princes, it is not likely that we should have heard of this prophecy or of its fulfilment.

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A travel of six or seven weeks brought Caetano, his Prelates, his Jesuit, and their servants to the gates of Rome. The cavalcade entered with no small bravery. The Prince of the Church hurried with palpitating heart towards the Vatican, there to sit in Conclave, to create or be created Pope. Sixtus, indeed, had been replaced by another, Urban VII.; but Urban saw no more than twelve suns rise upon him, and was now departed, leaving the Sacred College to strive once more for a vacated throne.

Father Robert found himself at home in the College of Jesus, where loving brethren, "after the manner of the Society," covered him with embraces, in signal of liveliest affection.

Now, there was more work for him to do. Notwithstanding his inclusion with authors prohibited, Sixtus being gone, he was thought eligible for the most confidential service; and the new Pontiff, Gregory XIV., soon found him employment. The Council of Trent had not been satisfied with the editions of the Vulgate.

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In pursuance of their decision, the Popes had directed it to be revised. Sixtus V. gave his authoritative sanction to the last revision, which was to be received universally as perfect. But it was pronounced very imperfect ; and Gregory commanded a select Congregation to meet in his presence, and determine how such an edition might be prepared as would meet the expectation of the Church. Bellarmine was one of that Congregation. After various opinions had been given, he proposed that it should be confided to a few learned men to expurgate the edition of Sixtus from beginning to end, "collating it with old editions, and with manuscript copies, as well of the Greeks as of the Latins, and with commentaries of the Fathers ; by which means the emendation of Sixtus V. might have been made such as he would have had it, and might have been brought to such a state of perfection as becomes the heavenly work." To this proposal the Congregation acceded ; and it was appointed that Cardinal William Allen, Master of the Sacred Palace, Cardinal Marc-Antonio Colonna, Robert Bellarmine, and four others, should meet in the palace of Colonna, and there prosecute the revision. On Bellarmine, it is said, fell the chief part of the labour, and final arrangement of all their contributions. He also wrote the Preface. And on reading this Preface, I find more ingenuity than truth in the statement that, the defectiveness of the Sixtine Vulgate

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was to be attributed to the *printer*,* while the fault lay—so far as that edition was really faulty—with the editors themselves, under the responsible sanction of the Pope. Those who have gone over the same ground, critically examining the patristic workmanship of Bellarmine, can best estimate its quality. After the revised, and more deeply Romanised, Vulgate came out in the pontificate of Clement VIII., Bellarmine asked his General, Aquaviva, to allow him ten years for the production of a commentary. Aquaviva, not disposed to encourage a multiplication of commentaries, refused permission; and we have no reason to regret that he did refuse.

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A service of so great magnitude to the Church of Rome as the preparation of an ecclesiastical Bible,—as the Vulgate really is,—deserved something more than the Society could give. Promotion in the Society, however, might fitly precede elevation in the Church. The General, after taking the suffrages of his assistants, made Bellarmine Rector of the Roman College; and the new year, 1593, found him just entered on the duties of the office. Already Aquaviva had made him Confessor and Spiritual Father of the youth in that College; and there is reason to believe that, as a mild and exact

* —“animadvertens non pauca in sacra Biblia *præli* vitio irrepsisse, quæ,” &c. (Præfatio ad Lectorem.)

disciplinarian, he was well qualified to govern. During a period of thirty-two years he had obeyed well, and could, therefore, gracefully command, and reasonably exact obedience. According to the custom of the College, he delivered a discourse, expository of the method of administration he intended to pursue; and took for theme the following words from the Book of Ecclesiasticus: *Rectorem te posuerunt. Noli extolli: esto in illis quasi unus ex ipsis—et non impedias musicam.** “They have made thee Rector. Be not lifted up: be among them like one of themselves—and do not interrupt the music.” Speaking much of the humility he desired to exemplify, he encouraged the inmates of the College, two hundred and five in number, to approach him with entire confidence, and placed himself at their service.

And in order to exemplify the virtue of humility, he descended to the humblest offices, and addressed each fellow with as much formality of respect, as if their position had been reversed, suffering none to be uncovered, or to stand waiting in his presence. Returning once from Frascati to the College, just in time to cook the dinner, it being *his turn* that day to perform the duty of cook, he walked into the kitchen, and applied himself, as usual, to the laborious operation. Every one admired the Rector, who could exercise such exemplary self-

* Chap. xxxii. 1—5.

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denial ; although fatigue might well have served him as excuse for ordering any one to serve that day in his stead. Nor was he less jealous over the Society in regard to the virtue of poverty. A Father had some superfluous articles of apparel in his room, which the Rector caused to be removed to the common vestiary of the house ; and the Father, although suffering inconvenience by the loss, at the same time, of some necessary clothing, professed that he would rather lose his clothes than his poverty. It behoved a Jesuit to have nothing that he might call his own ; and therefore the Rector turned out of his own room every trifling ornament or superfluity, retained only the most necessary articles, and changed even those for others of meaner material or coarser fabric. And added to this assiduous display of poverty and humility, was great facility of language, and blandness of manner, which served to bring fairly into view a large store of knowledge, the fruit of long and laborious application : “ so that there was none who, returning from that oracle, did not say, ‘ Did not our hearts burn within us, while he spake with us by the way ? ’ ”

In the beginning of the reign of Clement VIII., he was deputed as one of two representatives of the Roman province to the General Congregation, holden in the year 1593.

By the common voice of this congregation, the General sent him to take the government of the province of Naples. His diligence in visita-

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tion, and the manner of his government, won general applause; and, after spending twenty-five months in that office, he received a summons from the Pope to hasten to Rome.

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On the death of the Cardinal of Toledo, the Pope's theologian, Clement VIII. resolved to supply the vacancy by appointing Bellarmine. He had read with peculiar satisfaction one of his treatises, (*De Translatione Imperii*,) and had shown deference to his opinion by desisting from a purpose of introducing the Platonic philosophy into the school of the Sapienza in Rome. Bellarmine objected that the nearer resemblance of Plato to the inspired writers, rendered him so much the less eligible; and argued, that as a Heathen is less mischievous than a heretic, so is Aristotle less mischievous than Plato. The Cardinals Baronio and Aldobrandini also used their influence in his favour.

Now constituted oracle of him whose bare word is itself an oracle, it became necessary that he should dwell beside the chair of infallibility; and apartments in the Vatican awaited his occupation. But it was the uniform custom of the Jesuits in those days to profess abhorrence of honours and elegancies, when set before them; and where every one acted alike in such cases, it is impossible to conjecture how much of humility was to be attributed to an imperious custom, or

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how much to the man. Bellarmine implored permission to withdraw from the Vatican, and live in the Jesuit House, which was quite near enough for his presence to be had at any moment; and thither he went to elaborate theology for the service of the Holy See.

And Clement was carrying this theology into practical application. Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, had lately died, leaving the dukedom by testament to Cesare d'Este, in default of hereditary succession. Don Cesare took possession, the subjects most willingly rendered him their oaths of allegiance, and other princes received, as matter of course, the usual intelligence of his accession to the ducal chair. Not so the Pope. He said that the Duke deceased, as his vassal, had no right to dispose of the state, which reverted to the Roman See by the extinction of the line. The Emperor interposed a remonstrance, and so did the Venetians, but in vain. Cesare set about self-defence, raising a little army, and fortifying the city; not hoping for power to resist, but venturing to hope that other states would see it their interest to espouse his cause. Rome rose in wrath. Money was levied, artillery collected, and 25,000 soldiers added to the forces of the Vicar of Christ! Aldobrandini appeared as General of the recruits, which were to be doubled, if necessary. A fortnight was given to Cesare to consider, whether he would fight or yield. If contumacious, a

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sentence of excommunication hung over his head : and the same curse threatened Emperors, Kings, Republics, Princes,—all or any who might abet his rebellion against the Apostolic See. The Pope appeared, full robed, in the court of St. Peter's, had the sentence read, flung a lighted taper on the ground, to signify the plunging of the soul of Cesare into eternal darkness ; and the Cardinals threw down smaller tapers, to concur in the damnation of the rebel. The bells rang an alarum ; the drums rolled ; the hoarse trumpets poured forth defiance ; the cannon of St. Angelo confirmed the anathema. A proclamation on the gates of St. Peter's, and of the Lateran, and in other accustomed places, declared Cesare to be smitten with spiritual death, and to have incurred temporal death in consequence. The Lord of Ferrara bowed to the outrageous wrong, and ceded Ferrara and the Ferrarese to the Chief Priest of Rome ; but was allowed to subsist on his allodial estates, with the title of Duke of Modena and Reggio. The Pope decreed that the territory thus usurped should never be granted to any one in feudatory title ; and hastily set out to take possession, accompanied by most of the Court. Bellarmine, necessarily, went with him ; and it was observed that while at Ferrara, although his great simplicity compelled him to lodge with the Jesuits, he was constantly in presence of the Pope, was treated with unusual distinction, and

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was marked as a Cardinal *in petto*.* Alarmed, of course, at the prospect of a red hat, he entreated his General to endeavour to avert so dreadful a calamity. Aquaviva mentioned this repugnance; but Clement understood the formalities, and just answered that Bellarmine, being a Jesuit, could not have such a dignity. But the courtiers, familiar with their own dialect, interpreted the Papal word as the vulgar were wont to interpret dreams, just to mean the contrary. And this, be it noted, is frequently the best interpretation of a pontifical sentence. The pen of Bellarmine earned its reward.

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But to return. A month had not elapsed after the arrival of Bellarmine at Rome from Naples, when the Pope added him to the Congregation of the Sacred Roman Inquisition. Never was honour conferred more worthily. The theologian had reduced the doctrine of the Inquisition to summary, for the instruction of the rising priesthood. After citing the examples of Moses, Elijah, Joshua, Jehu, and Nebuchadnezzar in justification of the salutary practice of putting heretics to death, he gathered the following palmary arguments from the New Testament. I translate them closely.

“In the New Testament we have Matt. viii. to begin with, where we learn that the Church

* *In petto*—“in the breast,” or intention, of the Pontiff.

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may reject those who refuse to obey, regard them as Heathen and publicans, *and then hand them over to the secular power*, as no longer children of the Church. Then we have Rom. xiii., teaching that the secular power may punish wicked men with the sword. 'For,' it says, 'he beareth not the sword in vain : for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.' From which two places it is evidently collected, that it is lawful to cut off heretics from the Church, who are rebels against the Church, and disturbers of the public peace, and deliver them to be punished with death by the secular judge.

"Christ also, and His Apostles, compared heretics to things which are, without controversy, to be repelled by fire and sword ; for the Lord says, in Matt. vii., 'Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.' And in these words in Acts xx., 'I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you ;' heretics must certainly be understood, under the name of wolves, as St. Ambrose beautifully explains it in his commentary on the beginning of Luke x. "But grievous wolves are most lawfully put to death, if they cannot be otherwise got rid of ; for the life of the sheep demands far higher consideration than the death of the wolves. Also John x. 'He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold,

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but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.' Where, under the name of 'thief and robber,' heretics are to be understood, and all seducers, and inventors of sects, as Chrysostom and Augustine explain it : and every one knows how thieves and robbers are punished. And in 2 Tim. ii., heresy is compared to a cancer, which is not cured by medicaments, but must be cut out with a knife, or it will perpetually spread, and corrupt the whole body. Then in John ii., Christ drove the traders out of the Temple with the scourge. In Acts v., Peter killed Ananias and Sapphira because they had lied against the Holy Spirit : and Paul, Acts xiii., smote a false prophet with blindness, because he was endeavouring to turn away the Proconsul from the faith."

Then comes a long train of witnesses, from Constantine, and the "most religious Emperors," Theodosius, Valentinian, and others, down through a succession of saints, ending with St. Bernard. And, lastly, Bellarmine himself speaks.

"Finally. It is proved by natural reason, First : Heretics may be justly excommunicated, as all allow ; therefore they may be killed. The consequence is proved, because excommunication is a greater punishment than temporal death. Augustine (lib. i. *Cont. adv. Legis et Prophetarum*, c. 17) says, that it is more horrible to be delivered to Satan by excommunication, than to be smitten with the sword, consumed in flames, or thrown to wild beasts to be devoured.

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“Secondly : Experience teaches that there is no other remedy. For the Church has proceeded gently, and tried all remedies. First, she only excommunicated ; then she added pecuniary fines ; then exile. At last she was compelled to come to death ; for heretics despise excommunication, and say that it is but a cold thunder-bolt. If you threaten them with pecuniary fines, they neither fear God nor regard men ; but say that there will be no lack of simpletons to believe them, from whom they will get maintenance. If you shut them up in prison, or send them into exile, they will corrupt with their discourses all that come near them, and them that are afar with books. Therefore the only remedy is, to send them in good time to their own place.

“Thirdly : Falsifiers, in the judgment of all, deserve to die. Heretics are falsifiers of the word of God.

“Fourthly : In the estimation of Augustine, Ep. 50, it is worse for a man to be unfaithful to God, than for a woman to be unfaithful to her husband. If this is to be punished with death, why not that ?

“Fifthly : There are three causes for which reason teaches that men should be killed ; which causes Galen beautifully lays down in his book, ‘*Quod mores animi corporis temperamentum sequantur*,’ towards the end.

“The first cause is, that bad men may not

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hurt good ones, and that mischievous persons may not oppress the innocent. And hence, most justly, as all agree, murderers, adulterers, and thieves are put to death. The second is, that by the punishment of a few, many may be corrected; and they that would not benefit the commonwealth by living, should benefit it by dying. And hence we also see that most justly, by common agreement, some horrid crimes are punished with death, although they have not hurt any one in reality, as necromancy; and certain unutterable offences, and offences against nature, which are so much the more gravely punished, that others may understand them to be extremely wicked, and not dare to perpetrate the like. The third is, because, even to the very men who are killed, it is often useful to be killed; that is to say, when they are growing worse, and there is no likelihood that they will ever come to a sound mind." And so on.*

No one could doubt the eligibility of such a pleader for the Inquisition to be himself an Inquisitor. His demeanour, too, when Consultor, and the disposition he had manifested in regard to the suffering Nestorians in India, and their kidnapped Bishops, had given entire satisfaction to the benevolent Patriarch who, for their own good, (!) extinguished the spark of life in many Syrian opponents of the Society of Jesus. And, to add emphasis to the irony,

* De Laicis, lib. iii., cap. 21.

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Bellarmino, illustrious advocate of capital punishment for heresy, was employed to give judgment on the petitions for mercy that might come up to the Pope from persons not yet incarcerated, on behalf of relatives or friends languishing in the dungeons. "Before a rescript of grace could be given, his judgment was expected." And where there was no petition, nor even any accusation of heresy, his lynx-eye descried it. Thus he detected Nestorianism in the profession of faith sent to Paul V. by the Patriarch of Babylon. Under his patronage, the terrible folio of Farinacci, succeeding to that of Eymeric as the Inquisitorial Manual, came to light. Nay, he revised, enlarged, and recommended it. Yet this Inquisitor could be marvellously tender to some persons. One day, for example, when on his way to the Holy Office, a heavy shower of rain came on. He stopped the carriage, requested some Prelates that were with him to sit close, that his Familiars might get in; and when an attendant reminded him that that was not the usage, he devoutly answered that the Familiars were his brothers in Christ, and if one of them were to fall sick from a wetting, he should have to render an account to God. But he would not condescend to count Galileo among his brethren in Christ. He made the astronomer choose between prison and recantation; and it was at his feet that Galileo knelt to renounce the heresy of the revolution of the earth.

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While thus engaged, — I cannot find how many rescripts of grace he procured, — Cardinal Taruggi, an intimate friend of Baronius, requested him to write a Catechism for little children, accompanied by a more copious explanation for the use of their teachers. It was wise to employ the most effective writer then to be found for this important service ; and, in fact, the best writers only have been able, in *any* Church, to provide this kind of literature. Bellarmine consented, and produced the “ Christian Doctrine,” which may almost be regarded as the basis of Romish popular Catechisms throughout the world. Xavier and others had written similar manuals ; but the “ *Doctrina Christiana* ” of Bellarmine went far to supersede them all.

Inquisitor, Theologian, and Catechist, our hero discharged also another kindred function, being made Examiner of Candidates for the dignity of Bishop. No man, presenting himself before so awful a personage, could presume to waver one hair’s breadth from the exact line of Roman orthodoxy.

Nor must I forget to note that he was also appointed Regent of the Penitentiary of St. Peter ; that court wherein absolution is dispensed to those who can only hope for pardon through the mercy of the Pope himself. No Priest, no Bishop, can release them from the thralldom of certain sins. They must apply at Rome ; and in Rome there is an office where such applica-

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tions are examined, and when it is found that the transaction is in order, and when the necessary fees are paid, the Regent, or chief clerk, writes in the margin one or other of the forms appointed ; thus it passes to the Pope, and the Pope concludes the matter.*

IS CREATED CARDINAL.

Scarcely had the hand of Bellarmine rested for two months upon the helm of Roman mercy, when a rumour spread through court and city that Pope Clement VIII. intended to make a fourth promotion of Cardinals. A thrill of expectation ran through the bosoms of the Prelates. Down to the humblest Monk was felt an intense impatience to know on whom the boon would rest. Perhaps the Holy Father was not himself perfectly decided, either as to number or names ; but fame sometimes points to the final resolution, and in this instance Clement found that the public voice was pronouncing in favour of the new Regent of the Penitentiary. And this wandering suffrage reached the ear of Father Robert himself. From the Palace Apostolic he had heard nothing : the mind of the Pontiff was shut up in deepest silence. Only it was known that a Consistory would be held for discussing the merits of personages named as worthy of elevation to the purple. On the night before,

* *Relazione della Corte di Roma*, da Fr. Antonio Zaccaria, parte ii., capo 23.

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he sent a memorial to the General of the Society, praying him to endeavour to prevent the descent of such a dignity, if haply it were imminent. Bellarmine further entreated Aquaviva to obtain for him an audience of the Pontiff, that he might throw himself on the floor of the Papal closet, and by force of tears, if words were not sufficient, divert His Holiness from such a thought. He also trusted that, if even this failed, no one could fancy that he had hankered after the purple while refusing it.

Next morning, March 3d, 1599, the Pope nominated "twelve august Fathers," reserving one *in petto*, and among them Robert Bellarmine, of whom he spake thus:—"Him we choose, because the Church of God has not his equal in learning; and because he is nephew of a most excellent and most holy Pontiff." While the Consistory was yet assembled, Cardinal Aldobrandini despatched a messenger from the Vatican to command him not to stir out of his house, under penalty of anathema, until the Pope should give him leave. That made it clear that he was to be Cardinal; but seeing that he was a Jesuit, and could only receive the hat by an act of sovereign authority in the Pope, it became him to reluctate, and he therefore sat in silence, like a man transpierced with grief. But when a few moments had passed away, he summoned all the Fathers of his College, and besought their counsel. After a

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decorous hesitation, they agreed to think that his poverty was lost for ever. The Pope had named him, the Sacred College had accepted the nomination, and he was at that moment taken out of their hands and in the custody of the Pope himself. He could not resist Providence. Bellarmine alone dissented, or seemed to dissent. He sent a messenger to Aldobrandini to say, that, even with groans, he besought an audience of the Pope, to give his reasons for deprecating the dignity. Aldobrandini sent back to say, that the Pope wanted not reasons, but obedience.

“Then Bellarmine, seeing himself hedged round every way, and unable to escape, burst into tears. He bemoaned the loss of that sweet and tranquil peace that he had enjoyed for so many years in the Society; and therefore reiterated those words which, in like circumstances, the most holy Pontiff, Gregory the Great, had sighed out: ‘Call me not Naomi, call me Mara; for the Almighty hath dealt very bitterly with me.’” While thus lamenting, they came to conduct him into the Pope’s presence to take the cap, and meet the others who would come for the same purpose, shaven and robed. But Bellarmine was immovable. He would not put off the black habit of his order. Then came his friend Aldobrandini from the Pope’s closet, with a special message; and him Bellarmine intreated that he might stay in his proper state of religion and poverty. But Aldobrandini

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repeated that the Pope required submission, under peril of excommunication. "At this intimation the servant of God bowed his head, and in tears devoutest put on the purple; and thus weeping, was conducted to the Pope's feet, to receive the cap. And there, too, he wished to speak for himself; but the Pontiff, with new precept, and with threatening of excommunication, *latæ sententiæ*, quite shut his month."*

Thus ended that part of the ceremony which was required by a rule of his order,† and which used to be repeated on every like occasion, with

* Marazzani, capo viii.

† "It will also be of the utmost importance, in order that the happy state of the Society be preserved, most diligently to put away ambition, parent of all evils in every republic or congregation; and to close up the way against seeking, directly or indirectly, any dignity or preferment in the Society. All the Professed, therefore, must vow to our God and Lord that they will never do anything to obtain such; and that they will inform against all who do; and they shall be held incapable of any preferment of whom it can be proved that they have sought it. They must also promise our God and Lord that they will do nothing to obtain any preferment or dignity out of the Society; *nor shall any one, so far as he can help it, give his consent to any election of himself to any office of the kind, unless his obedience, who may command under pain of sin, shall have compelled him to it.* But let every one consider in what manner he can contribute to the salvation of souls, according to the humility and submission of our profession, *and that the Society be not deprived of those men who are necessary to the attainment of this end.*" (Const., pars x., sect. 6.)

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a uniformity that renders it impossible to give the weepers any credit for their tears. He was compelled so to refuse as to render compulsion necessary. That being accomplished, nothing hindered acquiescence.

A circular letter from Aquaviva to the Provincials of the whole Society, on occasion of this event, may not be uninteresting to my readers.

"Perhaps," he writes, "you may have already received, by letters from others, intelligence of what God has disposed concerning the recent assumption of our Father Robert Bellarmine into the order of Cardinals. Yet I consider it to be consistent with the duties of my office to write you more distinctly. For by relating what really took place, I shall extinguish, or at least moderate, that feeling which the Society entertains with regard to admitting any marks of honour; and with which feeling we earnestly desire that God may constantly keep us in our humility. I wish, therefore, all to understand clearly, that not only on the part of the Society was everything done, seriously to deter the Pope, by reasons laid before him, from bestowing honours and titles of the kind; but that Father Bellarmine himself signified to the Pope, with all possible humility, that he only desired one thing,—to live and die in the same manner in which he had lived so long. But the Pope thought that he had given the matter sufficiently careful consideration, and that the appointment

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was pleasing to God. He, therefore, would not listen to the supplications of Bellarmine. And indeed, before he had received the first insignia of Cardinal, when he was beginning to speak for himself, and, while yet undressed, was refusing to be attired in the purple robes, the Pope forbade him to speak, under the penalty of instantly thundering censures upon him, if he said a word more about refusing. Perceiving how matters were, we all rejoiced, and see that nothing that could be done was left undone, either by the Society or the Cardinal. And we may also hope that this election will redound to the service of God. For since the Pope has freely conferred this dignity on a man of so great learning, integrity, and religion, as is Bellarmine, we may expect him to be a Cardinal of most praiseworthy example in the Church, devoted to public usefulness, and friendly to the Society. Now that God may favour all our desires, and give health to Bellarmine himself, with which he may attain to as great eminence in the purple as he enjoyed by his virtue in the Society, let all the Priests that are in your province offer one mass, and all the members that are not in orders one rosary to the Divinity. Meanwhile, I commend myself to the holy sacrifices and prayers of you all. Rome, March 6th, 1599."

To himself the usual visits and letters of congratulation came. Montepulciano was in a

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rapture of pride and joy at the addition of another Cardinal to those of whom the town already boasted. In places where he had resided, the inhabitants kept holiday. At Taverna, a small town in Calabria, the rustics seemed beside themselves. The house-tops flamed with torches; the people danced and sang through the streets; tears floated in their eyes with joy, and the grand dames wept outright. The fraternities walked in procession for three nights, shouting *Te Deum* as they went; adding by way of chorus at intervals, *Viva Gesu! Viva Bellarmino!* And the multitude caught the cry, "Long live Jesus! Long live Bellarmine!"

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Where there is one spiritual despot to control the conscience general, every man who submits his particular conscience to that authority should obey without scruple. But if he cannot overcome his own scruples, he ought to break loose from the vassalage at once, and appeal to God, who is, indeed, the Judge of all. The Pope was acknowledged by the Jesuits to be the controller of their common conscience; and as such he compelled Bellarmine to be a Cardinal under peril of anathema. Yet the new-made Cardinal rendered the Pope no more than a divided allegiance.

Here are questions of conscience which, using

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the third person, he proposed in writing to his General, Aquaviva, with the answers rescribed.

1. How has he entered into this dignity? By the true door? *Yes, by the true door.*

2. Can he live in that state without offending God? *Certainly he can.*

3. Could he go on better in the service of God, if he were to return to his former manner of life? *That is doubtful.*

4. Would not this be much better? *This, too, is doubtful.*

5. Is it likely that he could be permitted to return? *Scarcely.*

6. Or would it be safer, simply to give ear to God who calls, and who commands by the voice of His Vicar, and not be solicitous about changing his state, but to become perfect in that rank in which obedience places him?

Aquaviva gave no answer to this last question. He told him, indeed, that he had entered by the right door, and might possibly be a Cardinal without offending God; but that, whether he could serve God better in that state, or whether it was better for him to continue thus, was doubtful. There was no hope of being extricated from this ambiguous position; and on the great question of submission to "the Vicar of God," the General did not pronounce. The General, for himself, was bound to serve the Pope; but he, and every other member of the Society, were by a special rule bound to the

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Society, even after exaltation to a dignity beyond its precincts. There could be no absolute release from that order, as there might from others ; and Bellarmine, being perfectly imbued with the spirit of Jesuitism, would interpret most strictly the rule he had sworn to keep.* Resolved to be a true Jesuit to his latest breath, he entered on a course of asceticism, surpassing the requirements of the Society itself, and serving to distinguish him from every other member of the College. And he was "a poor Cardinal," dependent for subsistence on the allowance annually distributed to the poor Cardinals, and on the revenue of a benefice that had been previously given to him, but was liable to fluctuation. This poverty, however, had its advantages. He acquired a reputation of sanctity, and main-

* "He must also promise God that if, being compelled in this way, he accepts any preferment without the Society, he will ever afterwards hear the counsel of the General for the time being ; or that of any one whom the General may appoint for this purpose in his stead ; and that if he shall think that to be best which he " (the General) "advises, he will carry it into execution. Not that he who is made Prelate " (the word is here used in its general etymological sense ; but Prelates are, in common language, distinguished from Cardinals) "has any one of the Society to be his superior ; but because, freely, in the sight of God he is willing to be bound to do that which he shall understand to be best for the Divine service, and because he is pleased that there be some one who will propose it to him with Christian charity and liberty for the glory of God and our Lord." (Const., pars x., sect. 6.)

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tained himself in a position of independence. Without much of the pomp, he enjoyed the privileges, of his rank.

Having taken possession of the palace, he engaged a steward whom he well knew, to carry out his plans ; and having ascertained the state of the establishment, as left by his predecessor, and made inquiry concerning the customs of those few Cardinals who had persevered in habits of asceticism, he made out an inventory of the furniture, submitted it to the inspection of Aquaviva, and begged him to direct how much plate, what articles of furniture, and how many servants he should have ; in order that he might not so much live for the glory of the purple, as for the observance of the vow of poverty which he had taken on entering the Society. Even after his revenue became larger, his voluntary humility continued. The "court" of a less ostentatious Cardinal had usually consisted of about sixty persons. Baronius, lauded as a great despiser of worldly pomp, counted forty-five in his train. But Bellarmine would have no more than ten gentlemen (*uomini di rispetto*), fifteen of inferior class, and menials, making up the number to thirty. For a peer of Kings this modesty was wonderful. On every suitable occasion he spoke of his robes as a grief and an incumbrance, flames of fire enwrapping his body, rather than a visible distinction of honour; and it is related, that, once in

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company, taking off his broad red hat, and holding it up, he burst into tears, and said, "God gave me this purple in punishment of the sins that I committed when I was in the world." He described himself as an object of pity rather than of envy, and, after a long speech, setting forth his misery, left the party sitting in silent admiration of humility and heavenly-mindedness in Princes of the Church so rare.

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Cardinals are privileged to advise the Sovereign Pontiff; and Clement VIII. had desired Cardinal Bellarmine to tell him if he saw that anything might be better and more wisely done for the good of the Church. In obedience to this injunction, the Cardinal sent him a paper "concerning the chief duty of the Pope." Clement perused it carefully, and on each article noted a reply. This document came into the possession of Fuligatto, who gives it in his biography; and it certainly exhibits a remarkable example of plain dealing.

The Supreme Pontiff, Bellarmine began by saying, sustains in the Church a threefold representation of God. He is Shepherd and Ruler of the universal Church, Bishop of the city of Rome, and temporal Prince of the Papal state. But, of all his offices, the care of all the churches is indisputably the first, and incomparably the greatest. *First*, because St. Peter was consti-

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tuted Shepherd of all the Lord's flock, long before he was made Bishop of Antioch, or of Rome. There are many other Bishops of most noble cities, and many other temporal Princes ; but the Pontiff of the world, the Vicar-General of Christ, the universal Shepherd of the Church, stands alone in dignity. *Greatest*, because, while the diocese of Rome is narrow, and the temporal principality of the Church is comprehended within contracted bounds, the Supreme Pontiff has no limits to his dominion, except the limits of the world itself.

This office, so ancient, so great, so singular, the Pope might easily fill, if he were to appoint good Bishops over all the churches, and compel them, if necessary, to do their duty. And if the good Bishops would choose good Priests, good Preachers, and good Confessors, everything would be right. But the Priests, Preachers, and Confessors were not good. The writer hinted that the failure began with Clement himself ; and therefore said, "Trusting in the Apostolic benignity, I will confide to the bosom of the most pitiful Father, or rather, I will lay at his feet, my scruples, which, I must confess, will not let me rest."

To this exordium the Pope answered :—" We, too, are alarmed. But as the hearts of men are only known to God, and we can only elect men, two examples comfort us. One is, that when our Lord Jesus Christ elected twelve Apostles,

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after spending a whole night in prayer, which we know not that He did on any other occasion, there was yet one Judas among those whom He elected. Then the twelve Apostles, all full of the Holy Spirit, elected seven Deacons, of whom one was Nicolaus, afterwards so notorious a heretic. Which examples we suppose Almighty God left in the Church for the comfort of those who elect."

Bellarmino proceeded to enumerate six points of reformation that could not be overlooked without peril.

Churches were left without Pastors, a deficiency which it was the Pope's duty to supply. Clement confessed that, in this particular, he had sinned, and still was in sin. But fit men, he said, could not be found. Many, very many, were recommended, but he could not trust them; and, besides, he had determined to lay hands suddenly on no man.

The second point of censure was the promotion of useless Prelates. Churches ought to be provided for good persons, not persons with good churches. The Council of Trent says, that they to whom it pertains to make promotion sin mortally, if they do not observe this rule. The implied conclusion is, that the Pope is in mortal sin. His Holiness answers: "This we know; and, so far as we can, we always keep it in view, endeavouring to provide for churches, not for persons. 'But the Church must be the first

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and greatest object of consideration.' This is true; but if we are to be confined to the more worthy (*dignioribus*), the Church will never be provided for, because we have no means of knowing who is the more worthy. And as for the Bishops themselves, we are here again in difficulty; for if we will not give bishoprics to those who ask for them, or to those whom others recommend, we know not how the churches are to be provided for, especially the smaller and the poorer ones. If your lordship knows how to manage this better, we shall be glad to hear your method, and to adopt it. Many good things may be said on this subject; but when we come to practice, we encounter great difficulties."

The third point was the absence of Bishops from their churches; for of what use is a good man if he is not at his work? Many Bishops are Apostolic Nuncios, who do not see their churches for years together, but are busy elsewhere with politics. And many are at Rome, doing work that might be done by others, leaving their dioceses to ruin. "In this matter," writes Clement, "we confess that we have sinned, by too readily indulging Bishops with permission to come to Rome; and when they are come, it is difficult to get rid of them. You may remember, however, that formerly there were far fewer resident. As for the Nuncios, we think it far more becoming that Nuncios should be Bishops, *because they command Bishops, and*

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are of greater authority than Princes and people; * and if we were not so badly off for men, we should change them sooner." And then he extenuates the blame of employing ecclesiastics in civil magistracy.

The fourth evil was that of "spiritual polygamy," or, as we should speak, *pluralities*. Against this Bellarmine severely arrays the sentences of saints and canonists. "As for this polygamy," rejoins the Pope, somewhat angrily, "at present it only consists in those six cardinalitial bishoprics, in which we do not intend to make any change; for this matter has been examined by our predecessors, even since the Council of Trent, and is fixed. And to disturb the order of the College, and throw blame on the acts of our predecessors, and of so many Cardinals, seems to us a thing that could not be done without scandal."

The fifth sin reprehended was the facile translation of Bishops from one see to another. It was branded as a breach of spiritual marriage. "For it is well known, from *cap. Inter corporalia*, &c., that the bond of spiritual marriage is, in a certain sense, greater than the bond of bodily marriage, and therefore cannot be dissolved, except by God, or by the Vicar of God declaring the will of his Lord." And it is in-

* Here is a reason why the Pope will not send a layman as Ambassador to England. His representative here must exercise *jurisdiction*.

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credible that God could approve of such breach of marriage for the sake of pecuniary gain. The Pope quietly answers that, on that subject, he has given good advice to Princes.

Lastly, Bellarmine condemns the resignation of bishoprics without lawful cause, and, worst of all, when the retiring Bishop keeps the revenue. "It is as if a man should divorce his wife, and yet keep the dowry." Clement justifies his permission of this exorbitancy by saying, that such resignations are always effected with difficulty, and always preceded by due examination in the Consistory of Cardinals.

And after the discussion of these abuses come professions of humility from Bellarmine, and professions of good intention and good-will from Clement.

But this kind of counsel from a poor Cardinal, who carried himself as loftily as if he had been privileged as highly as "the Nephew," and whose poverty, being the expression of a severe and censorious cynicism, marked him to the public eye, must have made his presence more and more vexatious to the courtiers.

Although the semblance of good-will, at least, continued between the Pope and his monitor, its cordiality was weakened. The famous controversy between the Dominicans and Thomists on one side, and the Jesuits and Molinists on the other, divided the Romish theologians, for several years, into two adverse hosts. Molina, a

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Spanish Jesuit, led the opponents of predestinarianism, and to him the Society adhered. The Pope convened Doctors of both parties, entered warmly into the question, and was anxious to use his prerogative and enforce decision. Bellarmine, devoted to Jesuitism, strenuously defended the Spaniard; and, seeing that the decision would not leave his party in possession of the field, laboured hard to dissuade the Pope from carrying his wish into execution. He and his colleagues succeeded in putting off the threatened decision, that would have pronounced their doctrine contrary to that of St. Augustine and St. Thomas. The quarrel was hushed at Rome. Nations espoused it; and if the Holy See had condemned either party, the other might have revenged itself in schism. The divines refrained from a precipitation of the affair, and Bellarmine, honoured with the archbishopric of Capua, was put out of the way. By his own censure of absentees, he was bound to reside within the diocese; and thus, wedded to Capua, he was removed from Rome.

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Cardinal Baronius had often applied to the Pope on behalf of his friend, soliciting appointments to rich benefices as they fell vacant; but hitherto without success. The annalist represented to His Holiness that, having created Bellarmine a Cardinal, he ought to make the favour complete by giving him a sufficient maintenance.

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Clement sometimes expressed regret that he had not found opportunity to do so ; and Bellarmine as often replied, that he wanted nothing ; but comforted himself, when reflecting on his dependence, as a poor Cardinal, on the bounty of the reigning Pontiff, by considering that, when Clement died, he could go back again to the Jesuit College, and there be sure of the same fare as his brethren.

On the vacation of the archiepiscopal see of Capua, Clement thought well to dismiss the stern monitor, and the stubborn champion of Molinism, with a good grace. On Sunday, April 21st, 1602, the second Sunday after Easter, the Gospel for the day being, "I am the good Shepherd," the Pope consecrated him with great pomp as Archbishop, and gave him the pallium two days afterwards in the Vatican. On the second day after this investiture, he was on his way to Capua, hastening, partly to avoid the trouble of ceremonial visits, and partly to enter on the new station without delay.

He made his entry into the city on the 1st of May. The populace were rejoicing in the prospect of indulgences, which he had promised to all who should merit them by going to mass, and thus be the first to take benefit of his ministrations as their Metropolitan. The Clergy met him first, then the laity, and, under shelter of a silken canopy, he rode into Capua. The six gentlemen elected to the government of the peo-

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ple carried the canopy. The nobility surrounded him ; some at the bridle, some at the stirrups, some on either side the horse. And this was in expression of a homage that the Church exacts on all similar occasions.* The cross preceded, to show that he took possession of the province. The way was strewed with flowers. From the belfries of the twenty parish churches, and from those of the numerous monasteries, came clashing peals of welcome. The crowds, kneeling, received his blessing as he advanced ; and, at the cathedral, into which he was carried over the heads of the crowd, it seemed to him that St. Stephen, the protomartyr and guardian of the place, extended the right hand of recognition. And if it be true that an arm of the saint, whom devout men buried, was disinterred, and if, in defiance of the waste of sixteen centuries, it remained entire in Capua, that very limb was carried in procession round the church, and in this fashion exhibited for two days, by command of the new Archbishop, and to the delectation of the people. On the feast of Ascension, although it was not usual to preach on that day, he set aside the custom, took the pulpit, and delivered a sermon on these words of the Prophet : " See, I have this day set thee over the nations, and

* Fuligatto and Marazzani relate what the *ceremoniale Episcoporum* of Clement VIII., (still in use,) lib. i., cap. 2, prescribes. These honours, therefore, were not spontaneous.

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over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build and to plant." But the Capuan pulpit had been poorly occupied; the inhabitants felt little desire to hear sermons; and it was not until after great exertion and perseverance that he could gather numerous congregations. Then he wrote an earnest letter to the Pope, entreating that, while such cities as Rome, Naples, and Milan, were supplied with excellent Preachers, second-rate cities, like his own, should not be left destitute. "In these," he says, "if the Bishop does not speak, all are mute, except during the days of Lent. In Lent, indeed, there are many Preachers to be heard, whom pay, rather than charity, attracts, and who rather gape after gain of money than seek souls. These, therefore, are miserable cities, desolate fields, which Heaven, while it waters all the rest, rains upon for one month only in the year; and from such fields you can gather nothing but thorns and weeds."

In reply to a friend who asked him, some years afterwards, by what means he made himself so good an Archbishop during his residence of three years in Capua, he gives this account:—"As when one looks into a mirror, I set my mind to consider intently the life and conduct of the most admired Bishops that had been in the Church before me; endeavouring, by God's help, to throw off all that was imperfect in myself,

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and assume a new exterior, resembling theirs as nearly as possible, that so I might adapt my actions thereunto. I therefore read constantly the histories of those Bishops, perusing in order the volumes of Surius; and I read, especially, the lives of the holy Popes Ambrose, Martin, Augustine, Germanus, Anselm of Canterbury, Antonine of Florence, Lawrence, Patriarch of Venice, and others. But I derived the greatest advantage from the narratives of those most holy Prelates who went before me in Capua, Ansbertus and Andoënus; for both of them perfectly sustained the name and office of Pastor, nourishing the souls of their subjects with the constant preaching of the word of God, their bodies with liberal charities, and themselves with the wholesome food of prayer."

If Bellarmine had written to gratify the eye of Protestantism, he would scarcely have exhibited so artlessly the earthly model of perfection that he had chosen for imitation, or have disclosed so fully his utter forgetfulness of Him who left us an example that we should walk in His steps. If instead of the lives of Bishops he had studied the word of God, his profiting would have been indeed apparent, and his career as an ecclesiastic far more equal. Still we must acknowledge that he was, in his way, a sincere and successful imitator; and if it be a virtue in a man who has no domestic tie, and who is free to consume all that comes into his hands, not concerning

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himself as to widow or child, his virtue was heroic. He gave away his income almost as fast as he received it. The poor, indeed, for whom scarcely any other provision was made, could only look to the Clergy for help. The Church revenues were held with the understanding that almsgiving was due from the Incumbents. By his steward, or with his own hand, he gave money daily to crowds of beggars ; and as he was not churlish in the distribution, so neither did he make any careful inquiry into the necessity or the character of the beggars that beset his door. In all such cases, therefore, charity is but artificial, and we are obliged, in order to find any ground for praise, to observe the temper in which he dispersed his bounties ; and here it is pleasant to find indications of an exceedingly benevolent nature, with an air of simplicity so captivating, that I have experienced a sensation of disappointment in passing from a cursory reading of the biography to a careful study of his life.

His proceedings as a disciplinarian give us occasion to note the state of the Italian churches in those times.

Gambling, with its attendant vices, prevailed generally in Capua and the neighbouring towns, in spite of royal edicts to the contrary ; and the local authorities did not interfere. The Archbishop, at first, intended to launch spiritual censures on the offenders, but on consideration

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perceived that such a measure would only bring himself into contempt. His predecessor, an eminent decretalist,* had never interfered with the amusements of the people, and they had been too long pursuing their own course to be brought suddenly under ecclesiastical restraint. Secretly, that the magistrates might not suspect his interference, he sent a messenger to the Viceroy of Naples; obtained a new law for the prohibition of gambling-houses; and had the Governor dismissed, and another put in his place. An edict came from Naples, the new Governor enforced it, and they regarded Capua as reclaimed "by those arts, to a sense of modesty."

The laity being thus involuntarily reformed, the Archbishop set about the reformation of the Clergy also, who were not less addicted to the same sin. The Priests, in general, laid aside the dice, or tossed them in private; but after all those efforts, one of them was brought up as incorrigible. "How is it," asked Bellarmine, "that you, an ecclesiastic, and a Priest beside, did not fear that the sound of dice would be heard, but played even in open day, either for pleasure or for shameful gain?" "Because," answered the Priest, "I am destitute of maintenance; and

* Cesare Costa, thirty years Archbishop of Capua, who was employed by Clement VIII. to edit a seventh book of Decretals, with glosses and notes. (Ughelli, *Italia Sacra.*, tom. vi., p. 359.)

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unless I get money by play, I must starve." The good Archbishop gave him as much as he would have won by a lucky throw, bade him come to him whenever he would otherwise have gambled, and promised that each time he should receive as much. The Priest, seeing that he was caught, became another man.

In visiting the churches, Bellarmine found that in many of them there was seldom any sort of ritual performance, but that the Priests themselves bought and sold in them, as if they were market-houses; the hucksters actually exposing their wares in the naves. Porters traversed the aisles with burdens, and trade was carried on so briskly in the porches, that the Priest could not be heard to sing mass. This indecency the new Archbishop diminished, but could not abolish.

Priests of the first class were seen to solicit the meanest occupations for the sake of a living, and appeared seldom at church. This degradation he forbade, and commanded them to attend at lectures established for their instruction. He convened the Canons frequently in chapter, and himself presided, restoring ceremonies, and settling disputes. In the absence of Canons from their stalls, laymen had been accustomed to occupy those convenient seats; but he would not suffer them even to enter the choir, which was not a place, he said, for "profane persons,"—for the laity were all held to be profane. Every

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day he attended in the choir once, and on festivals at all the hours. To encourage attendance there, each Canon, when present, was allowed a small sum of money. Bellarmine took his own daily, and then applied it to some charitable use. By his presence, too, he compelled the Canons to refrain from chanting immodest words with sacred music, and from levity in church. He was also careful to obtain young men of as good character as could be found, to be educated for the priesthood, free of charge.

When visiting his diocese, he presumed to imitate our blessed Saviour, by sending forward two Jesuits, whom he likened to disciples, to announce the approach of their master. Several Jesuits were generally to be found in Capua, and he maintained them in his palace. For twenty-two years there had not been a Provincial Council in the metropolitan church, nor a Diocesan Synod; but he caused Synods to be held annually, and ordered a Council once in three years; but Bellarmine had scarcely fulfilled one triennial cycle, when he was called to Rome again. For the sake of showing hospitality, he enlarged and repaired the archiepiscopal palace. The cathedral, too, he repaired; restoring and decorating the chapel of St. Paul, which had been converted into a lumber-room. Nor did he forget to remove the body of his predecessor into a sumptuous tomb, and place a neat inscription over it.

Near the church of St. John there was a

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nunnery, where the depravity of the inmates had become so scandalous that a Congregation of Cardinals had forbidden any more females to be admitted as novices. The community had dwindled down to six, and those six "religious women" were covered with infamy. On the arrival of Bellarmine, they applied to him for something more than he could give,—a restoration to good report. They asked for mass to be said in their chapel once again. It was granted, and a sermon besides, when they fell on their knees, wept, implored interest at Rome for the grant of a new character, and offered to submit to any rule that their Archbishop would impose on them. The patrons of those "sacred virgins" plied Bellarmine hard for a restoration of character at Rome, and permission to return again "to a form of holier life." The men of Capua complained that the nunnery, having a revenue of three thousand ducats, and therefore capable of receiving many women, to the relief of poor families, was no longer available for that use. Bellarmine wrote to the Sacred Congregation, and prayed them not to shut their ears against returning virtue. The Cardinals could scarcely imagine such a reformation to be possible; but they yielded to his importunity, and gave licence for other females to be admitted to recruit the society of the repentant virgins, under condition of their vacating the nunnery where no one would ever imagine that aught good could dwell, and

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taking up a new abode. Bellarmine superintended the change; having first of all purified the Nuns by eight months' absolute seclusion, under two ladies from another house, bought other premises, made enclosure with very lofty walls, and only permitted one small spot for communication with the world,—a small grating, so close that not a feature could be seen through it by the most prying eye. Encouraged by this success, another disordered community, that of St. Francis and St. Clare, was committed to his hands; and by kindly diligence he succeeded in placing those Nuns, also, on a more creditable footing.

Attracted by his fame as a Prelate, multitudes of young men resorted to him for ordination; and when any were to be sent out as Missioners to China or to India, the Rector of the Roman College was wont to send them down to Capua, that from his hand they might receive the indelible character of priesthood. At this time he also enjoyed the credit of having so great power with God, that nothing could be denied to his intercession. Sick persons were brought to him for healing, and others possessed with devils for exorcism. One woman was brought from a neighbouring village, said to be possessed by many. The Cardinal knew her to be an energumen, but commanded her to go home again. Afterwards, intending to use every means for her recovery, and fully conscious of the power which

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Christ our Lord had given him, he began more austerely than usual to break the strength of the demons by fastings and prayers. By this they felt his power, and exclaimed with indignation, "What has Cardinal Bellarmine to do with us? He torments us more than he ought; he commands us to go forth; he compels us to depart hence; therefore we will depart." Having repeated these words several times, they left the woman in the church, much exhausted. Many sick persons they say he healed; and "on the bodies of the diseased he laid a small piece of paper, cut out of the epistles of St. Ignatius, on which was his name written by his own hand; and by that many were restored to health."

Be it remembered that these fables are told of one of the cleverest doctors of whom the Church of Rome can boast, and that they were published, as soon as possible, after his death, both in Italian and Latin, by the command of Muzio Vitelleschi, General of the Society of Jesus, with dedication to Urban VIII.,* who might himself

* "It would have been glorious, if, as thou didst intend, thou hadst written concerning Bellarmine, in the dignity of manners and of purple in which thou wast. But it is more glorious that thou wast so prevented; and that the impediments were, *to thy feet*, the kisses of the world; *to thy hands*, the bounties of heaven; *to thy mouth*, answers and oracles of truth; *to thy soul*, God and the management of His affairs." (Dedication by Silvester Petra Sancta, the translator, to Urban VIII.)

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have been the biographer, but for his elevation to the pontificate. Such are the finer pencillings wherewith a Roman artist, of most approved manner, finishes a portrait that is to be offered for the admiration, if not the worship, of the Church.

IN CONCLAVE.

The biographer and his followers thought it necessary to invest this "servant of God" with the gift of prophecy. If, as they say, Bellarmine predicted, on leaving Rome, that Clement VIII. would die within three years, his character rises not in our estimation. We remember a former presage of the same very suspicious kind. The death, however, did take place when the Archbishop had been two years and ten months in Capua; and after preaching a farewell sermon he made haste to take part in the election of a successor to the pontificate.

Clement expired March 3d, 1605; and on the 14th day of the same month, sixty Cardinals shut themselves up in Conclave.* In the first scrutiny it was found that Bellarmine had the largest number of votes. Eleven gave him a nomination. Eight bestowed a similar honour on Baronius. After Baronius, many received insignificant numbers of tickets, or single votes.

* A description of a Conclave, and of the ceremonial now observed in the election of a Pope, may be found in the Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine for 1851.

IN CONCLAVE.

The Cardinals were not yet prepared to act in earnest; for the intrigues and contradictions which kept them there until the 1st of April were but beginning; and therefore they gave a sort of random vote for the least likely persons. Each Cardinal-Deacon had one, at least, except San Cesareo, who jocosely mourned that no one wanted him for Pope. Bellarmine sternly told his friends that the levity of the Conclave was offensive; "for although Bulls, and the honour of the blessed God, bound the Cardinals to give their votes to the most worthy, they had voted for boys of fifteen, treating that as a jest which demanded infinite respect, and thus committing mortal sin." The suffrages for Bellarmine diminished, as soon as their Eminences fell to work, and grew more numerous for Baronius, who displayed his satisfaction in the usual manner by perversely quoting Scripture. The passage most in his lips was, "The pains of death have compassed me about." But when at the very last another interest rose into ascendancy, Alessandro de' Medici received the tiara, and came forth as Leo XI. Four weeks' duration and contention had wearied out the aged Princes; and several of them were already driven to their palaces by gout, fever, or vexation.* Conclaves, in those days, were more tumultuous and scandalous than they are likely to be at present, under improved regulations.

* Conclavi de' Pontefici Romani. MDCLXVIII. Leone XI.

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A fatality haunted new-made Popes. Twenty-eight days had been consumed in the creation of Leo XI., and in twenty-six he ceased to be. Again, therefore, fifty-nine Cardinals went into the Vatican. On Sunday morning, May 11th, and without keeping any Sabbath, for there is none at Rome, they proceeded at once to form themselves into parties. In this Conclave Bellarmine became a person of importance. Sforza, his relative, and Aquaviva, nephew of the General of the Jesuits, applied themselves in earnest to collect votes for him; and on the scrutiny fourteen were counted in his favour. For a short time a rumour prevailed that Bellarmine was likely to be elected, under favour of some of the most eminent members of the College. But, in reality, some of his supporters merely used him for the time to divert support from another candidate; and the prospect of having a Jesuit Pope alarmed all the Cardinal-Friars, who raised a clamour instantaneously. The reporter of the proceedings of this Conclave says, that "Bellarmine had great friends in consideration of his learning, and singular goodness; but his being a Jesuit, and of delicate conscience, made him to be little loved by many, who moved every stone to ruin him.....The remembrance of Bellarmine's disgrace under Sixtus V., who caused his work on the power of the Pope to be prohibited, was revived. There were earnest discourses concerning all the consequences that

RISES TO NEW DIGNITIES.

might be apprehended from the exaltation of a Jesuit, and the management on the other side was carried on so vigorously that the project was quickly set at rest." * After close fighting for five days, the Cardinal Borghese emerged from the crowd of competitors as Pope Paul V. The cries of adverse factions, and the din of canvassing, that had resounded in those chambers, were now hushed; and the new Pontiff was robed, worshipped, and proclaimed in Rome as "Universal Father."

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When Bellarmine left Capua, he thought it likely that his services would be acceptable at Court. His wordy patron had been equally careful to remove him thence, and to measure out revenue so moderately, that no very influential treasury should be at his disposal. Clement being no more, he had, probably, good reason to infer from the correspondence of old friends that his position would be altered. And in a valedictory sermon, he even ventured, "although not a prophet," to predict that the new Pope would not suffer him to quit Rome, and that, therefore, the Capuans would not see his face again. The stroke of pathos told upon the congregation, and there were who cried aloud: "Good shepherd, do not leave us." "Leave us not fatherless." "We have sinned against thee, Father, but will

* Ut supra, Conclave di Paolo V.

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be better children for the future." Such acclamations were not unusual in Italian congregations, and even now are sometimes to be heard.

As he divined it came to pass. Leo XI. first desired him to stay in Rome; and Paul V. also showed him favour. Having so often condemned Prelates who dismissed their wives, the churches, and yet retained the dowries, he could not consistently retain the archbishopric of Capua, but surrendered charge and a great part of the revenue to Paul. He received, however, an annuity of four thousand crowns, rich compensation flowed from other quarters, and he remained a pillar of the Roman Church, bearing no small weight of responsibility for counsel, while more courtly men were employed in diplomacy and political administration.

My leading authority, Fuligatto, is just now singularly barren. No small proportion of his volume is occupied with details intended to illustrate the wisdom and piety of his hero; but some of them are incredible, and most of them are trifling. As for his wisdom, it was expended in Congregations and in monasteries, the affairs of which cannot interest the reader. And as for his piety, I shall presently refer to other documents. Enough to say, that he governed the bishopric of Montepulciano, his native place, with diligence, although he never visited the diocese, but took the office of ecclesiastical governor with an understanding that the duties

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of residence and visitation would be devolved upon a Vicar.

In common with other Cardinals he exercised rights of patronage. "Among other occupations undertaken by the Cardinals at Rome, that they may assist the Supreme Pontiff in the government of the universal Church, are numbered patronages; not only of kingdoms and provinces, but also of religious orders. The Pope himself distributes prefectures of this kind among them. Cardinal Bellarmine had to discharge this function; and the order of Celestines, a monastery in the city of Sacred Virgins of St. Matthew, and the College of the Germanic Nation, were placed under his protection." Protection, however, and patronage, are merely words that cover the idea of supreme government. Nominally, supremacy belongs to the Pope alone, and to him only it is ever attributed; but sixty or seventy Cardinals actually govern. They are called Patrons or Protectors, to save the fundamental doctrine of a monarchy that scorns to share its honours with another; and to exalt the personage that would imitate Him who is indeed almighty and omnipresent.

Bellarmino, acting as a lieutenant of the Pope, sometimes gave proof of much practical wisdom. In his patronage of the Celestines, for example, he restored a wise provision of the founder himself, Celestine V., that although the Supreme Abbot was only elected for three years,

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he might be re-elected for a similar term. Pope John XXII. had abrogated this power of the fraternity, under the idea that ambitious brethren would manage to get repeated appointments to the exclusion of others. The necessity of changing the government of the community every third year, thus induced, however effectually it might frustrate, ambition, and also tended to chill the hopes and depress the spirit of the brotherhood. "It was found by experience that the space of three years, when the Abbot was a good one, was too small for the continuance and establishment of what had been usefully begun." He obtained authority from Paul V. for the restoration of the primitive licence, and saw it twice used with great effect. Both the sexennial Abbots took heart, in prospect of lengthened occupation, and revived the order in France, Belgium, and Italy. The Court of Rome saw that in the struggle with Protestantism no advantage of consolidation and persistency was to be lost even to one of the least of their institutions. And this may be recorded as one of the best examples of the wisdom of our Cardinal, by whose means the improvement was effected.

PROMULGATES TREASON.

Occasion soon came for giving Bellarmine far more important work than the patronage of monkeries. His own patron, Paul V., was resolved to make such a stand as had not been made since the

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Reformation against anti-Papal doctrines throughout the world. Everywhere the temporal powers resisted him; but almost everywhere he overruled them by some stroke of authority that none but himself would have attempted. Princes condescended to be absolved and reconciled, after having done no more than their duty in objecting to his exorbitant assumption of power over their subjects by means of canon law. One state, however, refused to follow the general example of submission. Venice had been subjected, in common with others, to the extortion of the priesthood. Delegates from Rome demanded power over the Venetians by means of the Inquisition and other ecclesiastical courts. The Venetian Clergy were required to surrender national privileges, and submit to be absorbed in the vortex of Roman jurisdiction. The Congregation of the Index prohibited, one by one, the best books printed in Venice, the sale of which constituted a main part of Venetian commerce. The printers had put forth their utmost energy, and by issuing magnificent Missals, and other Church-books, were partially recovering themselves, when a revision of those formularies superseded the existing editions, and prohibition of printing new editions, except in Rome, threatened them with ruin. The spirit of the Venetians was aroused. Then Rome endeavoured to encroach on the boundaries and on the fisheries of the Republic. The Republic made

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reprisals. For the sake of self-defence restraint was laid upon the rapacity of the Clergy. The Senate enacted a law of mortmain to protect families from robbery by Confessors who beset the death-beds. The civil authorities treated Papal decrees and constitutions with just contempt, whenever they were contrary to the law of the land. Some seditious Monks were imprisoned, and the Nuncio in vain demanded their release. On the 17th day of April, 1606, to crush the temporal power, Paul set the seal of the Fisherman, in fury, to an excommunication of the Doge and his assessors, and an interdict laid on the Republic. It then became necessary to justify the Roman aggressions and extortions by a plea of Divine right. For doing this Bellarmine was best fitted by a concurrence of principle and habit; and him, therefore, the Pontiff set to work. It was in a juncture when the excommunication was despised and the interdict resisted, and when the Jesuits, as adherents of the Pope, were expelled from Venice, that Bellarmine again pleaded for Papal supremacy, as coolly as if all Europe were content to suffer it.

This is his doctrine: * Princes have no power over Clergymen, who by the testimony of all Catholic lawyers, and by the letter of God's law, are exempt from earthly jurisdiction. It is

* *Controversiæ Memorabilis inter Paulum V. Pontificem Max. et Venetor, &c., Acta et Scripta.* In Villa Sanvincentiana, 1607. An instructive collection.

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manifestly false to say that the Most Christian King has power from God over the French, the Catholic King over the Spaniards, or the Republic over the Venetians ; for Sovereigns possess their dominion by some human right only, never by Divine. The Pope has received from God the immediate grant of sovereignty over all Christians. Kings may surrender their states, because the tenure is only secular ; but the Pope cannot surrender a province, a town, nor even an individual : for his kingdom, like that of Christ, is inalienable and without end. His tenure is Divine and eternal. If Princes have no power immediately from God over the laity, certainly they can have none over the Clergy ; nor can they deal with the Clergy as if they were subjects either by Divine or human right. It is true that every power is of God. Some power is immediate, as that of Moses and the Pope ; and some is from the people by election, or other means. The Clergy, therefore, first obey him who has power immediately from God, and then they obey such human and secondary laws as are not contrary to the Pope's laws. But if a Clergyman breaks a human law, no human power can justly punish him. Secular Princes, it is acknowledged, are called gods of the people, but the Priest is god of the Prince. Priests may judge Emperors, but an Emperor may not judge a Priest. Priests are shepherds, and laymen sheep : sheep cannot rule their

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shepherd. "As in a man reason and flesh are united, and so make up the man ; even so in holy Church there is the ecclesiastical or spiritual power, and the secular or temporal, which both make up the mystical body of the Church. And as in the man reason is superior to flesh, not flesh to reason, except when it rebels ; so reason leads and governs flesh, and even subdues and punishes flesh with fasts and watchings, but flesh never guides or punishes reason. Thus is the spiritual power superior to the worldly, and therefore both may and can guide, govern, command, and punish it, when it does wrong. But the secular power, not being superior to the spiritual, cannot guide or govern it, except *de facto*, and by way of rebellion and tyranny, as heretical Princes have sometimes done." Princes are hired servants of the people, but Priests are ministers of God. All persons and all things are theirs. Whatever heretics may say, the Church has the right to put heretics to death ; for she has two swords, temporal and spiritual. In her great tenderness she refrains from using the former, but requires the temporal power to use it in her behalf. From these propositions, and much, very much more of the same kind, Bellarmine teaches the Venetian Republic how fearfully it has offended God by imprisoning those Priests ; and at the close of one of his writings he broadly hints that the Doge will be worried to death by his own subjects, who will act as ministers of

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Divine vengeance. He tells him that he will perish, as other tyrants have perished, in punishment of resisting Rome, unless he repents and yields.

The quarrel was compromised at last, leaving the Pope conqueror in reality, and in full enjoyment of the benefit of this outrageous theology. But outrageous as it was, it was precisely the dogma that Rome needed to have established. What could be more grateful to the vulgar ear than a denial of the Divine right of Kings? What could be more politic for the Papacy than to depress royalty to the level of republicanism? Henceforth Roman diplomatists and Priests might coolly accommodate themselves to any change of government; or they might aid in subverting kingdom, empire, or commonwealth; or become accomplices with any despot, or with any demagogue in tearing up ancient landmarks. *They* were not to be respected, because they were but accidental, only the effect of some compact or of some capitulation. The Church could sit calmly amidst revolutions of her own creation, and obtain from the dominant faction, or the *de facto* government, the price of her complicity. Under this theory, and with the practice corresponding, especially as seen in Europe within the last five years, there is nothing in the world sacred, and nothing safe: there was not a sentiment conveyed in the controversy with the Venetians that had not been published long before, in his treatise *De Pontifice Romano*. Yet

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this was one of the confidential correspondents of James I. of England; for a statement of Bellarmine himself in his answer to "the triple knot" of that King is amply corroborated by other evidence. The Cardinal, speaking in the third person, says, that "the King had written to the Pope himself, as well as to the Cardinals Aldobrandini and Bellarmino, letters full of civility, in which, besides other things, he desired that some one of the Scots should be created Cardinal of the holy Roman Church, in order that he might have some one at Rome by whom to transact business with the Pope more easily." But afterwards, about the time of the Gunpowder Plot, King James performed the part of a zealous Protestant, either through fear of the Jesuits, or for the sake of keeping up his character in England; and then he wrote a book against the Pope and Bellarmine. The coolness of the latter enabled him to appear much better on paper than his royal antagonist. An incidental specimen of his coolness appears in a letter from his hand, which I find in manuscript in the British Museum, and translate underneath. It is addressed to the Cardinal D'Este,* and

* "My most Illustrious, most Reverend, and most Respected Lord,—It having pleased the King of England to write a book against the holy Catholic faith, and against my person, I have thought it necessary to answer him to defend the holy faith, and myself also. However, I send you the enclosed copy, hoping that you may be willing to

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would suggest even to a reader, uninformed of the constant usage, that all these controversial productions underwent censorship, and therefore expressed authentically the mind of the Court of Rome.

Tyrannicide, as the phrase went, that is to say, the killing of Kings, was openly advocated by Jesuits, and defended at Rome. When Jean Chastel, a student of the Jesuit College in Paris, attempted to assassinate Henry III., and the Court of Parliament proceeded against the criminal, their act was censured at Rome.* The Spanish Jesuit, Mariana, wrote a treatise † tending to establish the same horrid doctrine; and Bellarmine, in answer to a work of an Englishman, George Barclay, maintained the same. This work, which is a fair exposition of Roman doctrine, may be found in its place.‡ It exhibits an array of sentences confirmatory from “illustrious writers” of Italy, France, Spain,

see and read it. Praying that you may enjoy the next Christmas festivities, and not having to give you any further trouble with letters of this kind, I commend myself to you *in gratiam*. From Rome, November 11th, 1609. Of your most Illustrious and most Reverend, the most humble and devoted servant,

“THE CARDINAL BELLARMINE.”

(Additional mss. from 1782 to 1835 in British Museum. Eg. 44.)

* Le Tocsin, Paris, 1610.

† De Rege, et Regis Institutione.

‡ Seventh volume of Bellarmine's Works. Cologne, 1617.

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Germany, England, and Scotland, with sentences of Councils. The alleged prerogative of the Supreme Pontiff, and the duty of the people in regard to heretical Princes, are laid down under great variety of argument, precedent, and figure. The conclusions are such as these :—

Princes, in these latter times, may be deprived of their principedom without any detriment of the people, and without any injustice, by authority of the Church.

Kings are the rams of the flock. If the rams injure the sheep with their horns, they must be put away from the flock by the shepherd. The Pope is the universal shepherd; and if Kings tyrannise over the people, he has the right to put them out of the way, and is under the obligation so to do. However, as he does not use the sword himself, he must necessarily call on armies, magistrates, or people, to employ such means as may effect the purpose.

Heretical Kings are wolves that destroy the flock. The good shepherd will drive away the wolf; (and elsewhere Bellarmine has said that wolves are to be killed;) and even so the Pope, supreme power on earth, and universal shepherd, should require the services of all who can render it, to drive those wolves away.

These books not only made great stir in Venice and England, but wrought powerfully in France among the Clergy and on the least worthy part of the laity, as appeared May 13th, 1610, when

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Ravaillac stabbed Henry IV., who fell mortally wounded ; and it became evident that the followers of Mariana and Bellarmine, with all the vassals of the Roman Court, deemed that act to be heroic and meritorious. On the 10th of June the Parisian Parliament ordered the book of Mariana to be burnt before Nôtre Dame ; but, unhappily for France, the deceased King, blind to the fact that the Jesuits, the Romans, and the Spaniards were combined to overturn his throne, had patronised the Jesuits, and made one of them tutor of his son. They had, therefore, sufficient influence at Court and in Parliament to shield their order, and suppress in the Arrêt of Parliament the designation of Mariana as a Priest of the Society of Jesus.

Still the Jesuits were accused of being accessory—at least by consequence of their teaching—to the murder of the King, and a day was appointed for their cause to be pleaded at the palace. The Rectors and Doctors of the Sorbonne came in a body to the widowed Queen, ready to establish their complaint ; but the Jesuits had succeeded in persuading Her Majesty to merge the duties of a Queen and the affections of a widow in the submission of a devotee ; and she dismissed her most faithful subjects with an injunction to cease their pleading. The Sorbonne obeyed ; but the same day the public prosecutor demanded judgment of the Parliament against Bellarmine's answer to Barclay, and on

that day week an order was issued forbidding "all persons under penalty of treason to receive, retain, circulate, print, cause to be printed, or expose to sale the said book, tending to the overthrow of sovereign powers ordained and established by God, to the revolt of subjects against their Prince, to the withdrawal of their obedience; inducing them to make attempts against their persons and estates, and to disturb public quiet and tranquillity."*

Thus did that court fulfil its duty, refraining only from ordering Bellarmine's book to be burnt, in consideration of his rank as Cardinal, and of the Queen's love of the Jesuits. But their loyalty was displayed in vain. The Nuncio hurried away in anger to the palace, and threatened that, unless the Queen made reparation, he would no longer stay in France. She was alarmed, summoned the Parliament into her presence, and demanded the reason of their proceeding. They gave it with great firmness. The first President represented that she and her son, now King, were brought under subjection to the Pope, and in danger of being deposed whenever it should please him. Bellarmine, they said, at a time when the Pope ought to have sent her a letter of condolence and consolation in her sorrow, had published that book in France, and so thrown a firebrand of sedition among her people. Her husband, they believed, would have gone to

* *Extraict des Registres de Parlement.*

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Rome and demanded the person of the author. But Henry was murdered now, and the book was a canonisation of Ravallac his murderer, and an authentication of the crime. "Madam," he added, "we have found the sword drawn against you and your state: we had been traitors to you and to our places, if we had not raised our arms to parry the blow." She could not reprove the Parliament, but she bade them suspend the execution of their order for the present. Meanwhile the Nuncio persisted in his complaint. The Jesuits gave her no rest. Bellarmine, on hearing what had happened, wrote a letter to defend his doctrine, protesting that he only meant it to be applied for the deposition of Princes that were heretics, as in England, and assured Her Majesty of his good intentions. The Queen professed herself well satisfied, all opposition was turned aside, and the King-killing doctrine was propagated without restraint.* The Tocsin, a publication that its authors were compelled to issue anonymously, at a time when it was dangerous to be a patriot, was suppressed, and gathered up with such religious diligence that even the British Ambassador at Paris could not obtain a copy. One copy, at any rate, is preserved, and it has afforded me a reference on a preceding page.

* Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii., pp. 231-233, 234-240, 241. Cretineau-Joly, Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus, tome iii., chap. 3. Fuligatti Vit. Bel., lib. ii., cap. 7.

The general reader must here be cautioned against the artfulness of some writers and the simplicity of others, who would cover the guilt of partisans in those days with the cloak of misrepresentation, or the mantle of a blind charity.

Cretineau-Joly, for example, says that our Cardinal wrote to Arch-Priest Blackwell, in England, blaming the proceedings of the Romanists here. He wrote, indeed, to Blackwell; but what did he say? His letter, written not long after the Gunpowder Treason, contains an assertion,—anything but true,—that no Pope had ever killed any King, or approved of any such murder, and treats the fear of danger to the life of James I. as idle. But the writer says nothing condemnatory of the conduct of the traitors of the 5th of November. On the contrary, he censures Blackwell most severely for taking an oath of allegiance, which he calls unlawful. “Neither, dearest brother, could that oath become lawful by being presented to you in any way tempered or modified. For you know that such modifications are nothing else than snares and tricks of Satan.....For it is certain that in whatsoever words an oath may be framed by the adversaries of the faith in that kingdom, it can only tend to transfer the authority of the Head of the Church from the successor of St. Peter to the successor of Henry VIII. in England.” And as by taking an oath of allegiance to his rightful Sovereign he has fallen like St. Peter and St. Mar-

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cellinus, he entreats him, in the Lord's name, to repent like them, and renounce that allegiance; thus returning to the path of truth and virtue. He endeavours to stimulate the Arch-Priest to lead all the Romanists in England to withdraw their allegiance from the King, against whose life, as he well knows, enemies are plotting, both at home and abroad. And he tries to stir them up to sedition by arguments from Gregory the Great, St. Leo, and the Jesuit Sanders; and by the examples of the Bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas More. "For the sake of that single and most weighty article of doctrine alone" (the dominion of the Pope over the King) "they were leaders unto martyrdom of very many others." A clear confession that the Romanists who suffered in the reign of Queen Elizabeth were not punished for any other article of their "religion" than that which led them to sedition and to regicide. And we must not attribute zeal for this article of doctrine to the Jesuits alone, inasmuch as Paul V., following the traditions of his fathers, announced the same repeatedly, and especially in a Brief published more than five weeks before the famous letter of the Cardinal.*

* The Bull was dated August 21st, and the letter September 28th, 1607. The letter was intercepted, and forthwith printed by authority, with a "Large Examination taken at Lambeth, according to His Majesty's direction, point by point, of M. George Blackwell, made Arch-Priest of England, by Pope Clement VIII., &c., &c., &c. London, 1607. Barker."

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It is therefore evident that Bellarmine, far from condemning treason, inculcated most earnestly the doctrine by which treason is a virtue; and having no official reason for writing to the less disloyal Arch-Priest of England, went out of his way to do so, just on the strength of having known him more than forty years before.

His blessing or his curse was always ready to be addressed to the friends of his Church and order, or to their foes. While prosecuting, with unflinching perseverance, the ruin of every Protestant Sovereign, and of every untractable state, he repaid subservient Princes with his best offices. For example: The crown of Bohemia, being elective, was to be set on the head of a new ruler; and as the doctrines of the Reformation had gained ascendancy in the land of Huss, until the Jesuits succeeded in bringing round what is called a counter-Reformation, our Cardinal and his Company set their heart on bestowing that kingdom on the King of Hungary. Although not Superior of Jesuits in Bohemia, or anywhere else, Bellarmine kept up correspondence with the Society in that country, carried their letters into the Pope's closet,* and, being assured that Matthias would raise them up into power, and spare no means to slaughter his subjects of the Reformation, engaged the highest interest that the Popedom could afford to dethrone his brother Rudolf, the tolerant Emperor, and obtain the

* Winwood, vol. iii., p. 270.

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election of Matthias to be King of Bohemia, King of the Romans, and then Emperor in his stead. Matthias promised the Bohemians toleration, to obtain their votes, and offered the Jesuits patronage for the same reason; and having, by assistance of the latter, gained his point, he let them loose upon the others. To the conscience of Bellarmine, this management was all "for the greater glory of God."

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This Cardinal theologian had a vast advantage in the propagation of doctrine, inasmuch as he was also an Inquisitor. And, although the Inquisition had not a tribunal in France, it had agencies and power there, as it has in every country where the Church possesses influence, either direct or indirect. Take a proof.

During the outburst of indignation in France on the proclamation of death to heretical Kings in the answer to Barclay, and after the execution of death on King Henry IV., who, having sought peace with Rome by apostasy, fell by the dagger of a Jesuitised assassin, the Parisian preachers were divided. Many passed over the subject in silence. A few lauded the Society of Jesus. Some dared to speak the truth, but with various degrees of hesitation or of liberty. One honest Frenchman, an Abbé de Bois, "a man very famous for his gallant preaching, and for his knowledge in matters of the world," preached

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freely in one of the largest churches in Paris, both against the Pope's assumption of temporal power, and against the practices of the Jesuits. The Jesuits, however, being supported by the Nuncio, compelled, or persuaded, him to make in private a kind of recantation ; and, as he abstained from any further animadversions on their doctrine or conduct, he might have thought himself at peace. But not so. He happened to be the Queen's almoner, and, by some allurements of the Nuncio, was induced to go to Rome, with a commission from Her Majesty. No sooner did the Abbé come within the jurisdiction of Bellarmine, whom shame never could restrain when he felt the impulse of bigotry, or was bidden by his General, than he was convicted of heresy, and thrown into the Inquisition.* The act exceedingly offended "all the world" in Paris, and especially the Clergy ; but the force of public opinion could not be felt by Inquisitors at Rome.

About this very time (A.D. 1611) Galileo first appeared as a culprit in the presence of Bellarmine. The Jesuits, more earnestly than many, had taught the physics of Aristotle, as well as his philosophy. Aristotle knew nothing of the system conjectured by Copernicus, and by others before him, and even propounded by that learned German in Rome less than a century past. Therefore the Aristotelians, and most especially

* Winwood, vol. iii., pp. 307, 308.

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the Jesuits, abhorred the notion of the revolution of the earth; and, although the book of Copernicus, "*De Revolutionibus*," did not appear in the Index of prohibited books, it was in all probability suppressed. Bellarmine had once taught the immobility of the earth to his hearers at Louvain; and now Galileo, the Tuscan innovator, was to be put to silence. Provincial censors denounced his theory as absurd and false in philosophy, and expressly contrary to holy Scripture, and therefore heretical. The case was laid before the Congregation of the Holy Office, who caused it to be examined by theologians; the theologians in their wisdom confirmed the hard sentence of the Florentines, and Galileo was commanded to appear at Rome. He dared to go; or perhaps it would be more correct to say, that he durst not attempt to flee. He was brought into the Minerva, and found Inquisitor Bellarmine there, seated as his judge. He might have pleaded that, under apostolic licence, the same theory had already been propounded in a book printed in the eternal city; but no argument could avail, and the Cardinal gave him his choice—to be shut up in a dungeon in that fearful palace, or to make a promise never to teach the revolution of the earth again by word or writing.* Not to ignorance, but to impatience of contradiction, must be attributed the sentence.

I have no means of estimating the extent of Bellarmine's labours in the Inquisition, but find

* Botta, *Storia d' Italia*, lib. xxi.

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that instructions were then issued for levying charges on victims for each act of accusation, for each witness in accusation or defence, for clerks, for familiars, for tormentors, for jailors; so much for the sentence, and so much for the stake.* The precision of these arrangements, and the regard paid to the dignity of the Superiors and the compensation of the subordinates, indicate the same hand that prescribed capitular and monastic reformation in the archdiocese of Capua, and sustained so exact discipline in the Roman College. At least, it is unquestionable that the same hand gave the sanction and enforced the execution. The same hand, also, wrote some pieces of mystic devotion, which were done into English by clerical admirers in this country, and circulated among the simple folk, with prefaces laudatory of the pious and learned Cardinal. The translators might have been far more usefully employed.

LOOKS TOWARDS THE TIARA.

Perhaps no one would have made a better Pope than Bellarmine. That he was not without hope of attaining to the supremacy is apparent from a paper once written by himself, when secluded for "spiritual exercises," as they were called. It is very short, and shall be translated entire, thus:—

"Wednesday, September 26th, 1614. Being

* Instructions for the Vicars of the Holy Inquisition. Modena, 1608.

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in the House for Novices, St. Andrew's, occupied in spiritual exercises, and after mature deliberation, at the sacrifice of the mass, when I was about to receive the most holy body of our Lord, I vowed a vow to the Lord, in this form : I, Robert, Cardinal Bellarmine, of the Society of Jesus, a Religious, professed, vow to Almighty God, in the presence of the blessed Virgin Mary, and of all the court of heaven, that if haply (which I do not wish, and pray God may not come to pass) I be advanced to the Pontificate, I will not exalt any of my relatives, by blood or by affinity, to the Cardinalate, or to be temporal Prince, or Duke, or Count, or to have any other title ; neither will I make them rich, but will only help them to live comfortably in their civil state. Amen. Amen." That is to say, he vowed that he would still be a Jesuit, and would enforce the same artificial humility upon his relatives. This is all. The spiritual exercises of that month did not produce any grand purpose for the reformation of the Clergy, nor any fervent resolution to promote the glory of Christ.

Again was manifested a marvellous faculty of prevision. But four months after these very pious resolutions, the throne was vacated by the unexpected demise of Paul V. So vigorous was his constitution, that he seemed likely to bury all the elder Cardinals, when the stroke of death fell on him, and, after three days' suffering, he breathed his last on the 28th of January, 1615.

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The Roman population abandoned themselves to the irregularities that are repeated on such occasions, and every appearance of good order and morality vanished both in town and country. "Highnesses, adored and idolised by courtly flattery, were suddenly laid low, and covered with confusion. He that had shown a spirit of lordliness and pride, contending for the highest station, found himself humbled in the first days of that interregnum. Then he might be seen bowing, and paying low obeisance to the man that he had despised but a few days before. Then the ancient magistrate laid aside his pomp, and another, that was thought quite unequal to open or to close the ascent to the sublime region of the Pontificate, took courage, and carried himself sternly towards persons with whom he had been formerly courteous and obliging. The authority of the tribunals ceased, and every one was free to speak and write at pleasure, and say things openly that a moment before he would have kept hidden in the silence of his own thoughts." * The tumults of the city were such as ever had been when the reins of Papal authority were snapped ; but each Conclave has had a history of its own, and anonymous conclavists have divulged several. When fifty Cardinals went in procession to the Vatican, they resolved themselves into factions, domestic and political, and, before the solemn closing of the doors, the

* *Conclavi de' Pontifici Romani.* Greg. XV.

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Ambassadors of all the foreign courts were closeted with their adherents, and labouring to *exclude* all Cardinals obnoxious to their masters, but leaving the field open to the rest. The first night of their entrance into the Vatican was nearly all spent in this way. As for Bellarmine, it was not his manner to hold much intercourse with Princes: therefore, he quietly crept into his cell, and went to sleep. In the dead of the night Cardinal Borghese ran to solicit his vote for a member of his faction; but he coldly bade him wait until the morning, when they might all say mass, according to the rules, and pray for inspiration to elect a fit person. Again, before break of day, taking other Cardinals with him, he bolted into the cell, awoke him, and asked his vote. "This is not an hour," said he snappishly, "to make the Pope. These are works of darkness: pray let me rest." Borghese begged his pardon, but entreated him to say what he meant to do. "I can tell you nothing now," replied Bellarmine, most angrily: "I want to sleep. If you want to know anything, the chamber of Ubaldino is near: go there, and let me sleep." Thus did he spare himself the trouble of leading a party, or the indignity of serving one, receiving applications from hostile candidates, or their agents, but not giving his interest to any, and also receiving, as before, the first votes of the undecided, who meant to transfer them, in due time, to some one concerning whom they might agree. With this tacit

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understanding he had more votes than any one else, again, at the first scrutiny, but not one afterwards. At length Cardinal Alessandro Ludovisio, transformed into Gregory XV., received the adoration of the Conclave,* and Bellarmine came out with the others, never more to take part in a similar transaction.

IS AN ASCETIC.

Neither did he appear very conspicuously in public affairs during the remainder of his life. Here, therefore, we may review his religious character, as it is depicted by his friends. They say, that he was exceedingly affable and courteous to all who came near him, and so humble in demeanour, that unless they had remembered him to be a Cardinal, nothing in his manner would remind them of it. To Jesuits he always showed the greatest kindness, calling them his brethren, sons of his mother, the Society. And to the Superiors of the Society he paid as much reverence as if he had been a junior under their direction. So strong was his attachment to the Roman College, that he would fain have dwelt within its walls, if such an arrangement had been compatible with the discipline of the place. But he lived near, and, still not content, endeavoured to make a subterranean passage whereby to gain access to his brethren secretly; but the difficulty of excavation, or some other obstacle,

* Conclavi de' Pontifici Romani. Greg. XV.

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prevented the fulfilment of his purpose. Then he solaced himself with listening to the sound of the bells, and by them regulated his hours of devotion, both by day and night. And throughout his life he observed minutely the laws and customs of the Society. Every year, as we have already noted, he withdrew, by permission of the Pope, to the House of Novices at St. Andrew's, for the performance of spiritual exercises. If any of the Novices were sick, he paid them frequent visits, entertained them with pious conversation, or of that kind, at least, which they deemed pious, and sprinkled them, if the sickness was severe, with holy water.

At those times he most carefully avoided even the slightest indulgence. He would not even walk in the garden, nor allow himself relaxation for a moment. If he wished a book, he would not suffer any one to bring it from the common library; but went thither in person, carrying an inkstand and pen-case to make extracts, much to the admiration of the young students, who had never seen a Cardinal condescend to mingle with inferior company. He would only eat the plainest food, at any time; for he thought that the use of food did not consist in the delectation of the palate, but in the supply of nourishment.

When he needed the services of the domestic barber, he would not send for the man, but went down into his cell, "descending by all the steps of humility," in order that he might lose his

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hair more happily than Samson, and, by the loss, increase his virtue. Comforts he eschewed, and barely tolerated necessities. He always added a higher degree of rigour to the "customary severities of a religious life." Sometimes, after recovering from sickness, his upper servants would entreat him to allow himself to be carried in a sedan chair; but, although so feeble as to be scarcely able to walk, he would not submit to such a luxury. Other Cardinals were so carried; but if the physicians would not allow him to go out, except in that way, he remained in his chamber, in preference to departing from his resolution.

Twenty-two years elapsed from his creation as Cardinal to his decease. But he wore the same purple that was given him by Clement VIII., and no consideration could induce him to put on a new gown. When the sleeves were worn off his arms, he would have new ones attached to the old garment, for so much was necessary, but no more. An under garment, worn with the attrition of many years, he would never put off, and, on his death, it was found on his body, patched with coarse rags. He did not allow himself enough even of this most sordid clothing. In winter, when suffering from the cold, he would rather go shivering in wind and rain, than wear a cloak, and refused to wear gloves, until his hands became so swollen and chopped, that their exposure would have been offensive to others. In the winter months he rose long

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before day, and lit his lamp ; but no fire cheered his room until the hour of audience, when it was lit for the sake of the visitors. The General, Claudio Aquaviva, advised him to have a fire on his hearth in the coldest part of the season ; but he had read in the life of the most holy Pontiff, Pius V., that that saint had done without fire, and therefore he wished to follow the high example. He might have added, that Pius V. reserved his fire for the heretics ; and in that, also, he was willing to emulate, if he could not equal. After visitors had withdrawn, he was used to take off the burning coals, and so reduce the temperature of the apartment.

On Mondays he ate eggs only. On Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, in Lent, in Advent, and on the profestal days, or days which preceded the feasts of saints, he fasted until night. In the latter years of his life, his Confessor compelled him to diminish the fasts a little ; but still he fasted, like the ancient Pharisees, thrice in the week. In this abstinence he persisted to the last ; and, although he often lay awake whole nights for want of food, on the evening of a fast-day he would only take one smallish piece of bread, dipped in wine, and then drink once. He never seemed pleased with a dish well cooked ; but rather preferred meat ill-dressed or ill-flavoured, a meal that would sustain nature without gratifying taste. He drank at meals only, and would never drink

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merely to quench thirst, neither would he eat fruit for that purpose. In the heat of summer he would not refresh himself by washing in cold water ; and persevered through six months, towards the close of his life, refusing to assuage the heat of a fever by a draught of water. It behoved him, he said, to imitate thirsting martyrs, who most resembled, by the copious shedding of their blood, our Lord Jesus Christ when on the cross athirst.

Still Bellarmine thought that he had not filled up the measure of his vows, and, by severer mortification, strove yet more perfectly to subdue the flesh, and imitate saints who had inflicted the severest suffering on themselves. In this hope, he began to feed on herbs and pulse only ; but that crude diet made him sick, and the physicians compelled him to desist. Often did he scourge himself in secret, and afflict himself with sackcloth, in hope of pleasing angels and God. So long as his mind revolted from anything unpleasant, he thought that the flesh was not yet subject to the spirit. To subdue the spirit, he ate things that would make other stomachs nauseate. He had corns, and, although he could scarcely bear to walk, would not have them cut ; for others, he said, who tasted the bitter pains of purgatory and of hell, were suffering more.

As he endured cold, so did he expose himself to heat. When the sun blazed into his chamber

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in the hottest days of summer, he would not exclude the beams, but sat there, covered with perspiration and oppressed with languor, writing, for hours together, with as much apparent tranquillity as if he had been shaded in the most delicious bower. His servants, unable to enter the oven-like apartment, flung themselves to rest in some sheltered place. He, on the contrary, used to sit in such positions like a statue; and while gnats, or other insects, lighted on him, he sustained their stings without once making a wry face, but welcomed them as messengers from God to try his patience. He moved not a hand, nor would he suffer any one by any means to disturb the flies that sported on his head and face; saying, "with a sweet voice," that those little animals had no other paradise than liberty in flight, and power of lighting on the spot that pleased them. Or he would more gravely substitute profanity for wit, and say, "I was dumb, and opened not my mouth, because Thou didst it." The bystanders, of course, were edified by that sublime piety, and forgot the imprisoned heretics, whose only paradise was a good conscience.

To this wondrous patience and humility he added a multitude of devotions, and was reputed to be, eminently, a man of prayer. Besides the prayers which all Priests are required to recite, he added every day two offices, that of the blessed Virgin, and that of the dead. At mid-

day, after dinner, not indulging in conversation, it was his custom to leave the table, walk to and fro alone, with head uncovered, and say a rosary of the Virgin, "and another crown of Christ the Saviour." Early in the morning, after an hour's prayer, he spent another hour on his knees in meditation. Thence proceeding to the altar, he performed mass after the most approved manner. Not only in Rome, but in London, he passed for a great saint; and our King James, while he wrote against his book, "De Potestate," read, with admiration, the tract, "De Gemitu Columbæ." His voluntary humility and childish mysticism wrought upon weak minds that his politics and polemics had irritated; and this kind of blind acceptance procured him too great a name. Among the books of devotion which he used, we find not the divine hymns of the Old Testament, nor the life-giving words of our Lord and Saviour in the New. And if ever the example of Him in whose steps the Christian ought to follow appeared among the examples of Popes, Prelates, and Monks, it was only in some small particular of circumstance, or in some display of divine or magisterial authority, which, therefore, was *not* to be imitated by any mortal. Thus, in visiting his province of Capua, the Archbishop sent two Jesuits before him to announce his approach, in imitation of Jesus, who sent two of His disciples. Not even in those favourite virtues of humility and poverty did he

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imitate the Lamb of God so much as a favourite saint. Certainly, as an Inquisitor, he did not imitate Him who came to save men's lives, and not to destroy them. When aiming at the most perfect exercise of devotion, he displayed an arrogance that we cannot observe without disgust : for, in going into his annual retreat, he chose the month of September, *because in that month only the High-Priest went into the holy of holies*. Any but a spirit the most intensely proud would have shrunk from the comparison implied in that arrangement. But he dwelt on it, doubtless, with complacency. And, as an ascetic, his practice, together with his doctrine, was as much opposed to Christianity as is the kindred system of Buddhism in the East. And yet Bellarmine is, by some persons, extolled as a mirror of piety! If he was, his admirers must confess that Simon the Stylite was a yet brighter mirror.

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Life and health were both declining when he came out of the last Conclave. His petulance and inaction there had indicated indisposition to mingle in the stir of court ; and frequent attacks of sickness, with great weakness consequent, must have admonished him that his race was nearly run. Then he redoubled his efforts to save himself from eternal pains, and thought that salvation could be wrought out by temporal suffering. For conscience' sake he ate herbs,

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endeavouring to please God by an imitation of the Therapeutæ, of whom he had read in the course of his patristic studies, and whom the eastern Monks had followed. He thought ordinary prayers and the penances prescribed insufficient for salvation, and therefore added more. He exhibited a puerility of artificial patience that betokened, at the same time, a clamorous conscience and a weakened mind. Few spectacles can be more affecting than that of so eminent a man struggling for peace in his latter days; and we shall do well to wait at his bed-side, and observe how he passes through the valley of the shadow of death. Our witness is one of his own Society, who saw him there, and whose admiration of his character, and zeal for the honour of the order, leads him to paint a highly-coloured picture; but we will take it as we find it, and not even conjecture what darker touches might have been added by an impartial hand.*

A consciousness of approaching death impelled him, in the year 1621, to make earnest suit to Gregory XV. to be released from Court, Consistories, and Congregations, and from all offices, with permission to retire altogether to his accustomed place of retreat, the Jesuit Novitiate. He therefore dismissed the greatest part of his family, allowing them, however, to remain in his

* A True Relation of the last Sickness and Death of Cardinal Bellarmine. By C. E., [Coffin,] of the Society of Jesus. *Permissu superiorum*, M.DC.XXII.

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palace until they could be placed elsewhere. The 25th of August, which is in Rome sacred to St. Bartholomew, he observed with great solemnity, that day being also the anniversary of the "slaughter of the Huguenots" in Paris. But one business of great moment yet remained in the Congregation of the Index, which much required his presence for dispatch. There, on the 28th day of the month, he joined the Cardinals; and, the business being finished, he took his leave of all the Congregation, and went into the Novitiate.

That very night he was taken sick, and went to bed. There he lay with great patience, repeating prayers on his rosary, or crossing his arms upon his breast. The physicians advised him to take the sacrament of the altar, and he, in turn, desired them to tell him his condition. They did so; and he assured them that he had no fear, but rather a wish to die. On the fourth day of his sickness the doctors consulted whether or not it was expedient that he should receive "the blessed sacrament of the altar by way of viaticum," and agreed that it was not expedient to give it him in that manner, because he might continue many days, but only by way of ordinary communicating.

"Upon this warning given," says Coffin, "he prepared himself to confession, and in such manner as if that confession were to be the last that ever he should make in this life; and such was

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the innocency of the man, that albeit he were in his perfect sense, yet could he hardly find what to confess ; insomuch as his ghostly Father was in some perplexity, as wanting matter of absolution, till by recourse to his past life he found some small defects of which he absolved him : and when the blessed sacrament was brought, he would needs rise to receive it, as he did, and prostrated himself on the ground, to the great edification and amazement of all the beholders."

"Such was the innocency of the man !" Ay ; such was his self-satisfaction. No misgiving as to the tendency of his teaching troubled him. No doubt as to the lawfulness of the rebellions and civil wars that he had promoted. Two of his disciples had assassinated two Kings in France ; but he did not hear the voice of their blood crying from the ground. Victim after victim had he seen bound—weeping—racked—burning ; but no image of anguish or death came before his eyes. Prayers from the Syrians of India—remonstrances from invaded churches—groans from the pits of the Minerva—deprecations of the dying—curses of the living—troubled him not while searching his memory for sin, just for something to be pardoned. Neither cruel deaths nor treasons were sins to his apprehension, if only the victims were heretics. He said that he had no sin. He was a liar, therefore, and the truth was not in him.

With the same fixedness of will that was wont

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to triumph in its power over the reluctant or the fainting flesh, he persevered in mechanical devotion on the rosary; but the physicians required him to pause after each ten beads, lest the incessant recitation should hurt his head. This troubled him, and he gave utterance to his disquiet thus: "Methinks I am become a secular man, and am no more religious; for I neither say office nor mass. I make no prayers, *I do no good at all.*"

On the fifth day of his sickness, the Pope came to see him; and as Gregory entered the chamber—as if it had been the Lord himself—Bellarmine saluted him with this sentence: *Non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum.* "I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof." The Pope gave him words of great kindness, and after he had withdrawn, the Cardinal said to a Jesuit present, Father Minutoli, "'Now truly do I well hope that I shall die; for the Popes are never known to have visited Cardinals but when they were in danger of death, or rather past all hope of life;' to which effect he alleged divers examples." And then, his apprehension of death being quickened by the portentous incident of a Papal visit, he proceeded to describe the state of his conscience, in the words following:—

"Now nothing troubles my conscience, for God (His goodness still be thanked therefore) hath so preserved me hitherto, as that I do not remember in the whole course of my life to have committed any scandalous action, which perhaps,

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if I should live longer, may befall me : for weakness of body draws oftentimes with it weakness of mind, by which good men may be seen to have relented from their former vigour and virtue." And here I cannot but observe that a saying attributed to Bellarmine at this time, does not appear in any narrative that I have met with. The tale is that when he was asked, "Unto which of the saints wilt thou turn?" he answered, *Fidere meritis Christi tutissimum* : "It is safest to trust in the merits of Christ." The question was not likely to be put by any of his visiters ; for it is precisely such an one as would have come from the lips of a Protestant. And even if he had used the words attributed to him, they would have been but consistent with the notions of a Jesuit who preferred the tutelage of Jesus. The story has been repeated by Protestants as exhibiting the concession of an adversary ; but it is also repeated to sustain the conclusion that, in the judgment of charity, such persons may be saved. As for the person before us, there is no evidence that he had the faintest idea of trust in Christ alone as the Saviour of sinners.

When it was agreed that some one should announce to him that he was near his end, Muzio Vitellschi, the General, gave him the intelligence ; and on hearing it he exclaimed, "Good news ! good news ! O what good news is this !" *And then* to which of the saints did he turn. Let us hear from Father Coffin. "*After this*

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he caused one to read unto him the death of St. Charles Borromeo ; as desirous in his own to imitate it ; which being ended, he desired to receive the sacraments of holy Church, and that as soon as might be, lest after he should be less able for indisposition both of body and mind to receive them ; and to prevent also any sudden accident that might in this weakness take him away, ere he had armed himself with this so sudden and necessary defence." The General complied, and gave him the wafer and the wine, to receive which he would get out of bed. Six or seven hours afterwards he was "anneyled," and after each anointing devoutly said, *Amen*.

The dying man was now looked on with superstitious reverence, as no more belonging to this lower world, and people came to survey the miracle of sanctity. "Some sent unto the Cardinals and great personages ; some entreated the Fathers ; some used the help of his servants ; and others made other devices, and this not only to see him, but to kiss his hands, his head, or some other thing about him ; and when therein they had satisfied their devotion, they would touch his body with their books, their beads, handkerchiefs, crosses, medals, and other the like things, and that very reverently on their knees : and in this kind none were more forward than the Cardinals themselves ; who by reason of their more frequent conversation did most know him, *and some of them mentioned his canonisation* : and when once they knew of his

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sickness, they came very often unto him, and ten of them sometimes in one day, who all desired his blessing, but he constantly refused to give it; and one of them taking him by the hand kissed the same, and then touched his eyes and head therewith, at which Bellarmine marvelling, when the other was gone asked those about him what kind of courtesy this was, and how long it had been in use among the Cardinals."

This grew to a revolting excess, when Cardinals demanded his blessing and he begged for theirs; but no one would presume to bless him, and they seized his hand and blessed themselves with it. Then they congratulated him on his prospect of going straight to heaven, and begged him, when there, to pray for them. To this he answered: "I shall think it no small favour to be sure of purgatory, and there to remain a good while in the flames that must purge and cleanse the spots of my offences, and satisfy the just wrath and justice of Almighty God. But when I am come home, I will not fail to pray for you all." Then came prayers for his relics. Cardinal Farnese wrote from Caprarola, to ask for his Breviary, or for a pair of beads, when he should have died.

"The three last days before his death, when he was sometimes sleepy, sometimes with his eyes closed in prayer and meditation, he neither marked who they were that came, nor heeded much what they did; in which time the foresaid Cardinals, Bishops, Prelates, and others sent many little caps of silk, such as they use to

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wear under their square caps ; and others sent white night-caps, which they desired might be put on his head as they were ; and with them they sent also little crosses of gold and silver, reliquaries, prayer-books, and other things to touch him, and that in such multitude, as there were more than one hundred and fifty red, white, and other caps put on and taken from his head during this time ; and since his death that number hath much increased. Many things were taken away by such as came to visit him, and those also by great personages." The medical attendants vied with the most devout in honouring their patient. When applying leeches, in hope of reducing inflammation, and restoring him from delirium, they used clean white handkerchiefs whereon the creatures might disgorge, and carried them away, stained with sacred blood, for distribution among their friends. In the midst of this tumultuous delusion came a great favour from the Pope,—a *plenary indulgence*. This was to frank him into glory. Despite the judgment of Almighty God, the Pope undertook to send him into heaven ; and he, the pride of Romish theology, the hammer of heretics, then having eternity full in view, ventured to confide in that indulgence, and "the better to gain it, he said a Confiteor with his divers other prayers." Last of all "a great crucifix" absorbed his attention. They laid it upon his lips, and let it rest upon his shoulders, and so

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lulled him into the last slumber. In the morning of September 17th he died. The body was carried to a room in the church of the Jesuits, whither the people crowded, and kissed it kneeling. Lofty Prelates pushed through the crowd, and kissed the fingers that had written so much for the Church. Then the Pope's physician took the body to embalm it, distributed towels, handkerchiefs, and sponges, stained with its blood, and took for himself a small piece of bone from the hinder part of the skull, as payment for the service, esteeming it "a peerless jewel and inestimable treasure." This done, the embalmed body was exposed in the church, with a repetition, on a larger scale, of the same noisy and exorbitant veneration. The vestments were nearly all stolen piecemeal from the corpse, in spite of a strong guard of soldiers; and two Bishops were walking away with his Cardinal's hat, when a Jesuit and two guards forced them to give it up again. Marvellous tales ran through the city, of miracles done by the relics; and—says the narrator—"the same morning that the Cardinal departed this life, his voice was heard to speak unto some in the city, (of the number I am uncertain,) and to say unto them, *Addio, adesso me ne vado in paradiso*. 'Adieu, I am now going into paradise.' Which voice, among others, was heard by the Duchess of Sforza, a very virtuous lady, now living in Rome."

The reader has now a complete example of a

CANNOT BE CANONISED.

Roman death. How Christians are enabled to depart in peace ; what kind of testimony they bear to the grace of God through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ ; and how utterly self is lost in sight of the great atonement, in the presence of the most high God, and in the apprehension of His judgment, we know. But nothing that marks the departure of a Christian can be recognised in this case ; and I have transcribed largely the very words of a Jesuit who witnessed the scene that he relates, in order to avoid the possibility of misrepresentation.

CANNOT BE CANONISED.

When death tore the Cardinal from their bosom, the Jesuits would fain have made good the loss by the acquisition of a Saint. Even while Bellarmine lay on his death-bed a whisper of *canonisation* ran through the chamber ; and the Fathers were not likely to let the idea be forgotten. Urban VIII. seemed to render the attainment of their object impossible, by certain decrees adverse to the frequent creation of saints ; and it was also required that an interval of half a century should elapse from the death of a "servant of God" before the Congregation of Rites could proceed judicially to examine evidences of saintship. But the Jesuits were not to be thwarted by a Bull, nor was the Pope himself to be limited ; and he received their supplications to authorise an extrajudicial inquiry

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into the merits of Bellarmine, in Rome, Montepulciano, Capua, and Naples. The Congregation of Rites issued this licence on the 15th of January, 1627, and on the 5th of May, 1629, the reports were submitted to the auditors of the Rota; but still the antecedent limitation of Urban conflicted with the purpose of the Jesuits, who could only hope to compass the point by evasion and by patience.

When a generation had passed away, Alexander VII., yielding to a revival of the importunity, authorised Cardinal Brancati, in 1655, to renew the investigation. Still it advanced but slowly, and it was not until 1674 that the Cardinal-Vicar thought it right to confirm the application; nor until yet another year did the Pope, Clement X., sanction the confirmation. At length, on the 7th of September, 1675, the Congregation of Sacred Rites went into solemn disputation concerning the theological and cardinal virtues of Robert Bellarmine; and it is said that they came to a favourable decision, the Cardinals, although not very warm in the cause, being fortified by the sentences of twenty-two Consultors.* But that Congregation displayed a "pious facility" that appeared highly objectionable to some members of the College of Cardinals, and when they met again,

* Charles Albert Card. G. Cavalchini fills a large quarto with his relation of the cause of the venerable servant of God, Card. Bellarmine, presented to Benedict XIV. on the Ides of September, 1752, whence I take these dates.

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on September 20th, 1677, under the presidency of Innocent XI., seven Cardinals out of eighteen voted against the admission of Bellarmine into the Calendar. The Congregation then dispersed, leaving the question open, and it was privately discussed with exceeding earnestness.

One of the documents prepared on that occasion is now within reach in the more authentic form of manuscript, probably written by the hand of its author, the Cardinal Dezio Azzolino, who filled some of the highest offices in the Court of Rome, and who evidently wrote for the eye of the Pope alone. With that document before me,* I note the reasons that were then urged why our Jesuit should not be made a saint.

A certain pious facility of making saints without sufficient proof of sanctity has latterly crept into this Court of Rome; and when such matters are dispatched in the gross, "people will all say, and with reason too, that we not only *can be* deceived, but that we *wish to be*." In order to avoid this imputation, certain precautions have been taken, at least during the twenty-three years that Azzolino has been a member of the Congregation of Rites; and, according to an approved doctrine, the proofs of sanctity should be "clearer than meridian light, and leave no place for doubt." To maintain the credit and authority of the Holy See, both in the Catholic Church and out of it, "particularly now that we

* "Additional mss." in the British Museum. Num. 8373.

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are under so great disadvantage, everywhere losing ground, and especially in exceeding discredit on account of this matter of canonisation," through the frauds and negligencies of parties concerned, we are bound to advise our Lord to impose yet greater strictness. In the present case, if seven Cardinals out of eighteen vote against the proposal, will there not be a dissidence in the world corresponding to that of the Congregation? And if so, with how great scandal! It may be very well to decide by majorities in Councils, where decisions must be had, *and where infallibility is certain*. But here, where certainty depends not on spiritual prerogative, but on human proofs, no room should be left for doubt: but while even one dissents there is room left for doubt. Now to come to the merits of the case.

Did Bellarmine ever do anything surpassing human power, showing himself to be a partaker of the Divine nature? Never. The model of holiness is Christ; but heretics use the immorality of the Clergy and the Cardinals as a weapon against us and our doctrine: wherefore our best defence lies in canonising those only who resemble Christ. If we do not so, men will say that instead of *being* saints we *make* saints, and these modern saints will bring the old ones into suspicion. Besides, we must acknowledge that it is not necessary to make saints, much less such saints as have been made of late.

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It is wearisome to hear many worthy men, who have been asked to attest the sanctity of Bellarmine, excuse themselves by saying that he was a good Cardinal, but no saint. Many witnesses think—consider—scarcely recollect—do not know, that the servant of God said—did this or that—they know not that he ever told a lie, and so on. No one speaks distinctly, and the Cardinals, of all others, speak most vaguely. Such a degree of evidence as is now produced would not suffice to banish a robber; much less should it suffice to make a saint. And besides the irregularity of all the proceedings in this cause from first to last, there is an utter want of evidence to prove his virtues, and the witnesses contradict each other on every important point. They say, indeed, that Bellarmine was innocent, because he could find no sin to confess when on his death-bed; but we want not a negation of sins, but the presence of perceptible virtues. When S. Filippo Neri was deputed by Clement VIII. to try the spirit of Sister Orsola of Naples, whether it was of God, he gave her, unexpectedly, a very severe slap in the face. Instead of resenting it, the Sister meekly knelt at his feet, and prayed him to give her his commands; and therefore he judged that she possessed the good spirit in heroic measure. But by what has the spirit of Bellarmine been tested?

Was his faith heroic? Knowledge, not faith, is apparent in his writings, which are in many

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points unsound, even after the Jesuits have mended them from beginning to end ; and every one knows that they were placed in the Index Expurgatory. He always obeyed his General rather than the Pope. He fled from martyrdom, instead of wishing for it, as all great saints have ever done. Assuredly his faith was anything but heroic.

Was his hope heroic ? It could not have been. For he confessed that he abstained from prayer, through doubt of obtaining what was expedient for him.

Was his charity heroic ? No. Defective at all points. Heroic charity impoverishes itself for the sake of others ; but he merely gave away the surplus of his income after providing well for himself. "The servant of God," says the process, "*kept his table a little better than when he was in the Company.*" And who will say that to live a little better than a Jesuit constitutes heroic abstinence ? On the contrary, it is proved by calculation from the statements of himself and his friends, that he lived as well as most Cardinals, and much better than Pope Pius V. But he took the choicest dainties, if a servant would only say that nothing else was to be had ; and so exhibited a scandalous defect, not of heroic, but of common, virtue.

They say that he was humble. But assuredly he was anything but humble, or prudent either, when, in France, he pretended to prophesy the death of Sixtus, after learning from the courier,

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from private letters, or even from the triple seal of the heads of orders, that the letter over which he jested contained intelligence of that Pope's decease. Not very humble when, preaching at Capua, he compared himself to St. Gregory the Great. Not very humble when he wrote his own life, and penned those monstrous eulogies of himself that Fuligatto copied. Not very humble when he said that his Superior wrote of him to Rome, "Never man spake like this man."

This life of his, first written by himself, and then published with additions by Fuligatto, is full of scandal, and perilous to the faith. "I conceive," says Azzolino, "that it is of the utmost importance that Your Holiness should provide against the most enormous mischief that would result from carrying this matter forward. I think it necessary that you should get possession of his Life, written by the Father-General of the Company, and make sure that a single copy of it does not remain. Let all the impressions that are with the printers be gathered in; and let all the Cardinals and Consultors have an order to give up any copies they may have, *causing the whole to be burnt with the greatest secrecy*. I humbly implore Your Holiness to press this matter; for the thing is too grave, and the peril too great, to be passed over." His works ought all to be subjected to a severe censorship, and dealt with according to the propositions they contain; but if you make him a saint, the Apostolic See con-

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firms them all, and adopts that sentence of his that both Pope and Council may err in questions of facts.

If, by making him a saint, you confirm his writings, what will you say to France, when she charges you with giving sanction to his principles? And if you thus confirm his writings, what will you say to England, where the heretics quote his statements in regard to the revision of the Vulgate against the Church. It was but the other day that a learned Cardinal showed me a book that is in his library, intituled, *Bellum Papale, &c.*, written by an English heretic, printed in London in 1609, and dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury. That book points out the contradiction between the Clementine and the Sixtine Bibles, "which truly is most notable, and renders palpable in practice the enormous prejudice that would follow, if we should go on with the canonisation of Bellarmine."

These considerations set aside the project for that time; but it was renewed by the Jesuits under the reigns of Clement XI. and Benedict XIV. Those Popes would gladly have added him to the number of the guardians of their Church, but it was impossible; and the very best that could be said of him was that sentence of Cardinal Albrizio: "*A good Cardinal, but no saint.*"

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A. B. G. L. T. M. A. B. G. L. T. M.

Printed by M. J. B. G. L. T. M. A. B. G. L. T. M.

A JESUIT MANDARIN.

JOHN ADAM SCHALL,

OTHERWISE

TAM-YO-VAM,

A FAMOUS ASTRONOMER IN CHINA.

shore. Whoever came not in such a character, exposed himself to peril of death or perpetual imprisonment.

Francisco Xavier failed to accomplish his design of leading an embassy to China; for although the Viceroy of India gave his authority, the Governor of Malacca, by main force, prevented the execution of the project; and the Jesuit could not find a Chinese courageous enough to land him on the continent by stealth. His last intention had been to bribe natives to convey him to the capital, as a Portuguese Envoy, in hope of gaining an audience of the Emperor, by presenting gifts and framing some plausible excuse for his appearance without a train, and then to trust to the effect of correspondence with his friend the King of Portugal, for permission to reside at court. He died, as we have seen, on the island of Sancian, within sight of China; and his death on that spot served as a challenge to the Society of Jesus to follow up the effort.

On one hand, the Society saw and pondered an accumulation of difficulties that might, not unreasonably, have been considered insuperable. There was that absolute law of prohibition. And new or foreign sects were prohibited with equal rigour. The language seemed unlike all other forms of human speech, as if constructed to be spoken on another planet. The written characters looked like an intricate array

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of cipher, defying the efforts of the student to reduce them to analysis. And even if the country could by any contrivance be entered, and the language mastered, they heard that a sort of literary hierarchy, in subordination to a monarch of absolute and universal power, compelled submission to the religion of Confucius; or barely tolerated a sect of Bonzes, in consideration of their number, and of a prescriptive right acquired by immemorial usage. Terrible and relentless vengeance would fall upon an innovator, even though he were a Chinese: how, then, could a foreigner hope to introduce Christianity?

On the other hand, they calculated on the impracticability of enforcing so outrageous a proscription of all foreigners in territories of so great extent. The Emperor, it was understood, used his prerogative, when it so pleased him, to invite foreigners to his court, in order to obtain their services. The great Mandarins, also, sometimes condescended to shelter a barbarian. And here and there, screened by his own apparent insignificance, the native of another country might lurk in some remote outskirt of the empire. Besides all this, the soul of Jesuitism was *obedience*, at any hazard; and if a Jesuit lost his life on a mission while exercising the virtue of obedience to his General, he had been taught that death would be meritorious, and heaven sure.

Nearly thirty years after the death of Francisco

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Xavier, an Italian, Alessandro Valignano, appointed by the General of the Company Visitor of all India, landed at Macao on his way towards Japan, and, being detained there for several months, turned his thoughts towards China. The vastness of the empire, the civilisation of its inhabitants, the profound peace that had reigned there for ages, the wisdom of the magistrates, and the system of government, administered only by literary men, led him to regard the Chinese people with admiration. He conceived a hope that in such a kingdom a few scholars of established reputation for learning and virtue might be suffered to take up their abode ; and thought it possible that if such persons could present themselves with some knowledge of the Chinese language and literature, the prejudices of the Chinese might relent in their favour. This point being once compassed, it seemed not improbable that at some future time the precepts of the Christian law might find acceptance. Those pacific precepts, as he reasoned, could produce no disturbance, nor anywhere hinder the administration of justice. Weary of heathen vanities, the Chinese might at length desire celestial benefits, and seek for the attainment of eternal good.

Moved by such anticipations, he wrote without delay to India, and summoned thence Michele Ruggiero and Matteo Ricci, two Italians, whom he commanded to devote themselves to

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the study of the Chinese language. For this they were well prepared, having already acquired the rudiments, and now laboured night and day to master the whole task. Once and again they joined companies of Portuguese traders, who ventured to show themselves before the authorities of Canton, merely to tell their tale, and be dismissed as quickly as possible; but by no ingenuity could the Italians obtain any distinguishing regard. At length Ricci struck out an expedient that began the story of Jesuitism in China. He had formerly studied mathematics at Rome, under the teaching of Clavius, and was confident in the possession of a practical genius. He and Ruggiero were once more associated with a commercial deputation to the Viceroy of Canton, and they resolved to spend their utmost force of ingenuity to awaken the wonder of that functionary. Some objects, common enough in Europe, but unheard of in China, were provided for presents. A clock that showed the rising and setting of sun and moon,—a prism, that, by the emission of its rainbow rays, was mistaken for a fragment of the celestial hemisphere,—and maps which exhibited the world of barbarians with China filling the east, and Europe in the remotewest,—produced sensations of wonder such as had never before stirred the placid spirit of the Viceroy of Canton. He actually detained the Jesuits to exhibit and explain their wonders; for only they had the secret of keeping that horary

machine in action ; and only they could manage the spectrum, and expound the geography of nations now for the first time named within the celestial empire. Literary men crowded the palace to see the Jesuits and hear their wisdom ; and others came not only from the city and province of Canton, but from distant parts of those dominions. Each new comer heard, at every sentence, enunciations of wisdom and knowledge that held him in mute wonder ; and sometimes the sages broke silence to exclaim that these men must have come down from heaven. One thing only produced a slight perturbation, and that was the position of China, represented on one side of the world, instead of being in the centre, just like a jewel set in a ring. Ricci observed this, and made haste to draw a complete map of both hemispheres, showing that country, as the spectators thought it ought to be, honourably flanked with lands and seas, and Peking on the first meridian, like the golden milestone of the Roman world erected where all roads converged, and whence all distances were to be measured. Realms, provinces, cities, mountains, seas, rivers,—all bore Chinese names ; and Ricci marked them beautifully in the Chinese character. New light broke in upon the mind of the beholders ; and the Viceroy, delighted at this homage to national pride, caused the map to be engraven at his own expense, and copies of it circulated throughout the empire. Thus did

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this Viceroy, albeit without any such intention, begin to propagate the Italian mission; and other Viceroys, unwilling to be outdone in honour and in opportunity, vied with each other in calling the Jesuits to their courts, and in adorning their palaces by help of an alien ingenuity. To meet this new demand, "Fathers of great genius" were summoned to Macao, and there indoctrinated into this novel method of winning souls.* The Portuguese furnished Ricci with money, to enable him to maintain his dignity; and having purchased a house in the neighbourhood of Kwang-tung, or Canton,† he lived there in such a style as to command respect. The popularity thus acquired exposed him to much jealousy, but he persevered; and when obliged to quit Canton found welcome elsewhere, until at length he succeeded in gaining permission to visit Peking, where he conciliated the favour of the Emperor, who received his presents. By virtue of an imperial edict, he took up his residence near the palace, and enjoyed the highest reputation for learning.‡ He

* Athan. Kircher. *China Illustrata*, pars ii., cap. 8.

† To avoid endless perplexity, I shall quit my historical authorities, and go to Morrison for orthography, so far as he will serve.

‡ *Historica Relatio de Ortu et Progressu Fidei Orthodoxæ in Regno Chinensi*, per Missionarios Societatis Jesu, ab anno 1581 usque ad annum 1669, novissimè collecta ex Literis eorundem Patrum Societatis Jesu, præcipuè R. P. Joannis Adami Schall, Coloniensis ex eadem Societate:

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courted the literati, withheld from their knowledge such parts of the sacred history and doctrine as would offend prejudice or wound pride; by his influence at court he protected his brethren established in the provinces; and by extreme sagacity surrounded himself with a considerable number of persons who might be variously described as pupils, partisans, converts, or novices. In a secret chapel he disclosed to the more favoured symbols of his worship, yet so shaped as not to be repugnant to their notions, and intermingled with other symbols from the religion of Confucius. Among his disciples was one of the Colaos, or chief officers of state, named Ly, who afterwards avowed himself to have been his pupil, and extended powerful patronage to the Society. Ricci died in the year 1610, and was honoured with a solemn funeral, the remains of no foreigner having ever before had such a distinction. It is said that both Mandarins and people saluted with a mournful admiration the corpse of the Jesuit, as it was taken to the grave by a company of Christians, with a cross going before; and that it was in-

Ratisbonæ, 1672. This very rare volume will supply much material for the present biography, and is now acknowledged once for all. It was written in the name of the Chinese Mission of the Society, dedicated to the Emperor Leopold of Germany, and published in Ratisbon, *cum facultate superiorum*, at the expense of John Conrad Emmrich, citizen and bookseller.

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tered, by order of the Emperor, in a temple dedicated to the true God.

It is not my purpose to trace the history of the mission at this period ; but for the understanding of the coming narrative two or three particulars must be noted.

After the death of Ricci, two Priests of the Society, Giacomo Pantoja and Sabbatino di Ursis, both skilled in astronomy, endeavoured to take his place at court ; and by aid of that science, to acquire influence over the Chinese, with whom astronomy, such as it was, was a chief object of religious speculation. For marking lucky and unlucky days, they had a Calendar ; and for deciding when and how public affairs should be transacted, under the propitious influences of the stars, the Board of Ceremonies deliberated with superstitious anxiety. But the stars did not rise and set in accordance with the almanack. The planets did not take their places in the zodiac according to the positions assigned to them in the almanack. Eclipses came not at the hour prescribed for them in the almanack. The ignorance of the Chinese astrologers was profound ; for they had not even heard of the first principles of astral science ; nor had they any instruction in the first elements of geometry beyond that which might suffice for the construction of their mystic figures. The Jesuits felt quite able to prepare a correct almanack, if they could but fix the latitude and longitude of the

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chief cities of China ; for they were possessed of the same knowledge that had enabled Clavius, recently, to correct the Roman calendar. Their friends, therefore, "the neophyte Mandarins," suggested that they, "the Fathers from the west," should be invited to assist in the reconstruction of the Chinese calendar. The Emperor most gladly accepted the offer, and gave them authority to proceed. But no sooner had they applied themselves to the work, in conjunction with members of the Chinese Board of Mathematics, than the native jealousy, superstition, and pride rose against the foreigners, who found themselves in conflict with the traditions and laws of China. Consequently, some were driven out of the empire, and others were obliged to hide themselves.

Ricci, it would seem, had seriously contemplated the propagation of his form of Christianity in China ; and it does not appear that he carried his dissimulation nearly so far as his successors. He desired to *adapt* the Gospel to China ; and although he would have disguised, it does not appear to have been his intention to suppress. He and his companions, therefore, sent a memorial to Rome, for permission to translate the holy Scriptures and the offices of the Church into the Chinese language. It would not be fair to conjecture *how* they would have performed the work, or to guess how far their zeal to exhibit Christianity, under an

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accommodated form, would have carried them ; and we must therefore give them as much credit as we can for good intentions.

The answer to this memorial is on record. In a general Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, holden in the Apostolic Palace of the Vatican, before the most holy Pontiff Paul V., and the most reverend Lords Cardinals Inquisitors-General against heretical pravity, the memorial was read. After granting the Jesuit Fathers in China permission to say mass with the head covered, in compliance with the custom of the country, "His Holiness also permitted the said Fathers to translate the Holy Bible into the Chinese language, yet not the vulgar dialect, but the erudite, that is proper to the learned, and to use the Bible thus translated. And he also commanded them to employ extreme and exquisite diligence, that the translation might be most faithful ; and permitted the divine offices of masses and canonical hours to be celebrated by the Chinese in the same language.

"And he further gave permission for the sacraments to be administered, and other functions of the Church to be performed, by the Chinese in the same learned language, provided that they be lawfully promoted to sacred orders, and found fit by a person having authority, and admitted to the performance of the said functions." *

* *Constitutiones Apostolicæ, Brevia, Decreta, &c. Pro Missionibus Sinarum, Tunquini, &c., ad usum R. R. D. D.*

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No doubt the Pope and the Inquisition considered this learned language to be only intelligible to the learned men, and therefore unintelligible to the people in general, and were willing to add another dead language to those in which mass is annually celebrated in the Lateran. Probably Father Nicolas Trigault, bearer of the memorial, had so represented it to be. But the Jesuits tell us that as this messenger had no authority from the Visiter and the Provincial to present any such memorial; and as the work of translation would have been long, difficult, perilous, and of little use, the Superiors in China would never authorise any one to undertake it. The Jesuits preferred to speak in words which their own wisdom taught, to those which the Holy Spirit teacheth; and undoubtedly their whole scheme of reserve and perversion would have been frustrated if the Bible had been put into the hands of the Chinese literati.

The disclaimer of a memorial to the Pope is obviously dishonest. For twenty-eight years, if we may credit Bartoli,* the Missioners had been using Latin. If they administered baptism so early as the year 1583, when Ricci began his

Episcoporum, Sacerdotumque à Summis Pontificibus, ab Emm. D. D. Cardinalibus S. Cong. de Prop. Fide respectivè in Orientem Missorum. Parisiis, 1676. Pars ii., p. 51.

* *Dell' Historia della Compagnia di Giesu la Cina terza Parte dell' Asia descritta dal P. Daniello Bartoli della medesima compagna. Roma, 1663. Lib. iii.*

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mission, the language employed was Latin ; and it is remarkable that in the year 1611, while the Inquisition was discussing the proposal to translate the Bible and the Church-books, Longobardi, a successor of Ricci at Peking, and his companions, held a solemn deliberation concerning the form of baptism. They did not seem to think of translating the entire office, but only that part of it which is essential to the validity of the sacrament : "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The reason chiefly assigned was, that the sound of the Latin words was offensive to the ear of a Chinese, and that a native could not pronounce them. The organs of articulation did not produce the sound of R, or of B ; and yet the lay-converts, however newly come, or however ignorant, were thought competent to baptize either infants or adults, and the object was to provide them with a form that would not be ridiculously barbarous. And the custom of their Church required that the lay-person employed, or likely to be employed, in that service, should be instructed what to say. Thus in England, by a constitution of Archbishop Peckham, it was ordained that "the regenerative power" should be communicated in the words employed by our Lord Himself, or in their equivalents in some known tongue. If in English, the baptizer was to say, "I crystyn the in the naime of the fader, and of the sone, and of the

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holy goste." If in French, "Je te baptize au nom du pere, et du filz, et du saint esperit." * The Fathers of Peking rose a step higher than their European predecessors, and resolved that the magic words should not be vulgar Chinese, but borrowed from the language of the learned. Those who are competent to judge can tell us how near this came to common speech, or how far thence it was removed. One thing is clear, that in this one fragment of literal translation the Jesuits did not aim at the understanding of the heart, but merely consulted the capacities of the natives for hearing and articulation.

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John Adam Schall, born in Cologne in 1591, took the Jesuit habit at the age of twenty, and, after nine years of union with the Society, was sent to China, together with one Father Jacob Rho, in the year 1620. As yet there was nothing to mark him for history, and we must therefore be content to remain in ignorance of his earlier life, and meet him first in the city of Se-gan-foo.

Meanwhile we mark the beginning of a train of events in which he figured most conspicuously.

The Jesuits were baffled at Peking, as we have seen, in that critical year, 1611, just as there and at Rome deliberations were in progress for organizing their operations, ceremonial and scien-

* Provinciale, seu Constitutiones Angliæ. London, 1505. Fo. Cxxxiii.

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tific. At Nanking, after wandering in suburbs of cities, and hiding their faces under such masks as best they might, they presumed to rally their scattered forces; and after the easy method of "regenerative power," of which we have just been speaking, with utter silence as to the distinguishing facts and truths of Christianity, they collected many proselytes. The Mandarin in command, however, put a check on them by some very rigorous proceedings. They were beaten with rods, or imprisoned, or banished, and in short time compelled to take refuge in Macao (A.D. 1617). There they waited for an opportunity of returning to the field, and such an opportunity soon occurred.

The aged King, Wan-lěih, ended his reign of forty-eight years in a time of terror (A.D. 1619). The Tartars had invaded China, defeated his army, and destroyed that immobility which was a necessary condition of existence to his dynasty. His son, T'hěen-k'he, took measures to oppose the further progress of the Tartar army; and certain Mandarins who had adopted the Christianity of Ricci, and entertained a high confidence in the science of Europeans, advised him to ask the Portuguese for officers to work his artillery; and added, that in order to obtain this assistance from the Portuguese, he would do well to precede his application by annulling his father's decree for the banishment of the Jesuits. There was no time to be lost, nor any effort to be

spared. He recalled the Jesuits, and the Portuguese readily sent him officers to manage his guns. The single year of the young King's reign was a happy one. Victory for the time crowned his army, the Tartars were checked, and the Jesuits were in favour.

Niccolò Longobardi, who had fled with the rest, now presented a memorial to the King, asking permission to reside in Peking, and to found cannon. Either the cessation of alarm, or the death of the King, with the accession of Tsung-ching, or some lingering distrust, or the inveterate abhorrence of all foreigners, prevented a reply. No edict sanctioned their establishment, but none forbade it; and the Fathers went on without an edict, ever prosecuting the scheme, started by Ricci, of converting China by means of mathematics.

Certainly the Chinese mathematicians could not stand in competition with these rivals. The Mathematical Class, or Astronomical Board, failed in predicting an eclipse of the sun. The eclipse came unexpected, and the King displayed extreme displeasure. The Prefect of the Board of Ceremonies was called into his presence, and commanded to censure the Prefect of Astronomy for past negligence, and to threaten him with punishment if ever the astronomers failed again to report the movements of the heavens. The threat being duly communicated, the astronomers replied that the failure complained of was utterly

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unaccountable to themselves. Never had they presumed to make the slightest change in the method of their predecessors. They durst not, even if they would, commit any innovation. It was impossible, therefore, to conceive the cause of the mistake. Confessedly, the ancients had been more exact; but even the ancients had not been exempt from error; and their calculations had varied from the actual motions of the heavenly bodies by a quarter of an hour, a half an hour, ay, and even by a whole hour, or half a day. By the reverence of their ancestors, the perplexed academicians implored forbearance.

The Board of Ceremonies, to whom the Board of Astronomy was in subordination, admitted the undeniable fact, that those calculations had long ceased to be accurate; and observed, that for some centuries the inaccuracy had been growing worse and worse. One of this high tribunal, Siù Paulus, as the Jesuits call him, a person secretly baptized, and once a pupil of Ricci, had made a calculation,—the Prefect of the Astronomical Board, and several other persons, being in his company,—with help of Father John Terentius; which calculation was verified by the event. Hearing that the astronomers were in disgrace, he readily lent his influence to promote the establishment of the mission, and to that intent stated to his colleagues that the defect now deplored was not so much to be attributed to the astronomers themselves as to the Chinese

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method of computation, which was evidently false. The European sages, he knew, possessed a better method ; and, in a matter of such vital importance, he advised the Board to inform the Emperor that if he would condescend to accept their assistance for the revision of the calendar, as well as for the improvement of the artillery, great benefit might redound to the empire and to his own celestial government ; a thing now to be exceedingly desired, as the affrighted people found themselves ever and anon overtaken by obscurations of sun and moon, concerning which warning was not given duly ; and the officers of state were suffering detriment of their authority in consequence of their obviously imperfect knowledge of the skies. The suggestion was gently made ; and the Sovereign listened not unfavourably, although he saw that native and foreign interests were in contradiction to each other.

Matters being thus in preparation in Peking, the Jesuits were gathering courage in the provinces, and quietly cherishing other projects. The history of China, they knew, would not attest the establishment of Christianity in the empire ; but it was mortifying to think that where the sanction of antiquity was deemed essential to the permanence of present institutions, they could not show their title by any evidence of prescriptive occupation. That Christian visitors had been seen in the country, again and again, was undoubted ; and at some points of the vast

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frontier it might be believed that Christians had entered. During a brief period, something called Christianity had come in upon the shoulders of a Tartar usurpation; and, when that usurpation ended, it had vanished. Some conjectured that vestiges of that religion still remained; but the conjectures of Monks, the only witnesses, tended little to confirmation even of such rare and scanty facts. Could any monument be found? Rather—could any monument be *produced*? What should hinder? Here was marble; here were Chinese scholars; here was a fathomless resort of ingenuity; and, surely, there being a profound of ignorance and blind veneration in the land, there was nothing to hinder the production of a monument-like inscription, that might pass for genuine.

Adam Schall was then at Se-gan-foo, labouring with great energy and success. If we must believe Bartoli, he had been imprisoned in Nanking; but this is utterly improbable. The date assigned to the persecution in Nanking is 1817. But the recall of the Jesuits to China took place in 1819, and the mission of Schall to China was in 1820, later still; and he might possibly have landed in that year, but probably in the next. The same writer also says that Schall, when first in Se-gan-foo, suffered all manner of outrages, accusations, citations to appear in court, libellous papers posted up around the city in contempt of the Christian law, and that he was hooted and pelted

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through the streets. Perhaps the strange appearance of the Germans, on first arrival, might have provoked some ruder manifestations ; but all the rest of the tale must pass for artistic decoration, such as abounds in the voluminous writing of this Dante of Italian prose. On the contrary, it appears that Schall had every motive of encouragement, and abundant opportunity for prosecuting all sorts of labour.

We are not, therefore, to believe that there was a spot of ground in the neighbourhood of Se-gan-foo that, for many winters, had not been covered with snow, while it lay deep all round ; and that this suspension of the course of nature drew the attention of the peasants, who dug in search of the cause of so marvellous an appearance. Leaving the fable in the pages of Bartoli, I turn to the volume of Kircher, and find a description of the stone that, by its ingenuity, has commanded the belief of some writers by no means remarkable for credulity.

In the year 1625, a certain Jesuit, (*nonnemo*), whom I suppose to be Trigault, came at the invitation, or with the connivance, of a proselyted Mandarin, and baptized twenty-five persons in Se-gan-foo, capital of the province of Shen-se. In the same year, a few months afterwards, when they were digging in a field for the foundation of a new building, some workmen found a marble slab, nine and a half palms in length, five palms wide, and one palm thick, covered with a well-

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cut and perfect inscription in the Chinese character and language. The report of this discovery spread quickly, and literati crowded to the place to inspect the relic of antiquity. The Governor of the city, not least inquisitive, came to admire ; caused the marble to be removed to a neighbouring temple, and there exposed to public view, in a situation where the learned might peruse it at their leisure, and hoped that, when deciphered, it might reveal some record contributive to the honour of Se-gan-foo. On the margin, too, were other characters, unknown to the Chinese, who longed for some one able to penetrate into their mystery. While all spectators were full of wonder, Leo, a Christian Mandarin, opportunely came to the place, and, perceiving the perplexity of his countrymen, thought that the Jesuits, if called on, might interpret the strange writing, just as Daniel had interpreted the words written up in the palace of Babylon ; and might also, like the Prophet, be exalted in honour. In that hope he caused copies of the inscription to be made and circulated, and invited the Fathers to exercise their skill thereon. Burning with desire to make this discovery subservient to their object, some of the Jesuits came to Se-gan-foo. Two or three years had elapsed from the time of the alleged discovery, when Alvaro Semedo, a Portuguese, came to the city, and examined the stone. With rapture he read, and read again, sentences that could only have been written by a Christian

hand ; but the marginal inscription it surpassed his ability to interpret, and therefore he copied it as exactly as possible, and took it with him to Cranganor, there to lay it before a Jesuit, learned in the writing of the Christians of St. Thomas. This man pronounced the characters to be Syriac ; but he could not make out their meaning. The copy was therefore sent to Rome, and put into the hands of Athanasius Kircher, who published both inscriptions, together with a Latin version of the Chinese, to the following purport :—

“Monument concerning the most famous law promulgated from the great *Tsin* (Judæa) in *Chung-kwo* (the empire of China). Stone of the most famous Christian law promulgated in China, and prologue of eternal praise. *Kim-cym*, a Priest of the Church of Judea related.” It contains a periphrastical exposition of the eternity of God the Creator, and of the Holy Trinity ; and of *Holooy*, (something like the Syriac word for God,) who set up the cross, to pacify the four quarters of the world. A confused account of chaos, the creation of sun and moon, and the malice of the devil, who sowed evil in the human heart, and produced three hundred and sixty-five sects. When the world was in a state of great confusion, “one of the three persons communicated himself to the most illustrious and venerable Me-tsia, (Messiah,) covering and hiding his true majesty. At the same time a man came into the world. A spirit from heaven signified

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gladness. A virgin bare a holy one in Judæa. A most glorious constellation announced felicity. Eastern Kings saw the brightness, and came to offer gifts of subjection of twenty-four holy ones." He governed all, with a grand doctrine. He spake a new law, and perfected good manners. He ordained eight places and degrees of blessedness. He established purgatory. He opened a school of three virtues, disclosed life, extinguished death, was hung up in open day that he might destroy the cities of dark hell, and the wiles of the devil. He released the captives of death, ascended at mid-day into heaven. Twenty-seven books of writings remained. Conversions began. Water washed the body and cleansed the soul. Persons dispersed into the four parts of the world, by the sign — of the cross congregate and pacify without labour, beat wood, (instead of bells,) sounding words of fear, piety, and gratitude.

They worship towards the east—wear long beards—shave the head—prefer poverty—fast—offer sacrifice of praise for the living and the dead—observe the first day of the week, and give absolution. Without their law Emperors are not great, nor is their law magnified without Emperors. In the year 636, a man called *Lo-puen* came from Judæa, guided by the clouds of heaven, into China. The Emperor sent red staves into the western suburb to welcome the stranger, whom he called into the interior of the palace,

to translate the books of the law, and commanded him to promulgate his doctrine through the empire, in the year 639. *Lo-puen* carried books and images to the ends of the empire.

After this follows a sort of chronicle, exceedingly obscure; and then the inscription bears that "the churches filled one hundred cities," and the Bonzes stirred up a persecution, which ended in the year 713. At length the Emperor *Jao* sent five Kings to worship in the church, and the rock of the law (Peter?) was reared up again in the year 747. After this followed a period of prosperity that is described in most glowing colours; and the Emperor presided, every Christmas-day, over grand festivities. Every Lent he convoked the Priests of four churches, at least, and performed works of charity. Other Emperors followed the good example. In the second year of the Emperor *Këen-ching*, which answers to 782, the stone is dated.

It is utterly incredible that any form of Christianity should have been established under the patronage of a succession of Emperors for nearly a century and a half, and have become no less than their own religion, and that every intelligible trace of it should have vanished within the space of four hundred and fifty years, when Marco Polo came to China. It is impossible to believe that substantial and splendid churches could have crumbled into dust so speedily as to leave no ruins visible; or that persecution sufficiently severe to extinguish

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a numerous, intelligent, and powerful sect, should have left no vestige in the volumes of history, in the memory of families, or in the traditions of the people. And if all the churches had been raised to the dust, their materials buried, and not even the foundations lain undisturbed, it is again incredible that no fragments of so great a wreck should have come to light, except this one. Images were carried all over China, the inscription tells us, and yet no image, nor any piece of one, is to be found. The Jesuits, indeed, speak of crosses; but that simple figure ever abounds, and, in the imagination of the Jesuit, stands out everywhere. And as to the inscription, I would suggest to any one who wished to test it by its internal character, that he should compare Kircher's two versions with the traces of Christian doctrine, practice, and discipline in the Syrian churches in the eighth century, and then determine whether this be not a gross fabrication, and only worthy of being designated the gospel of John Adam Schall. It is only under the conviction that the inscription is the invention of this person, executed by some one or two of his elder associates, that I have persuaded myself to describe it briefly in this place. As for the Syriac lines, they were easily to be furnished by any Jesuit from India, and when translated exhibit nothing more than names of ecclesiastics—a Syrian hierarchy in the heart of China, all extinguished by some unrecorded stroke, and this without one cry of

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lamentation in the Indian mother-church, or any sentence of sorrow written in the Indian registers to mark the time when that swoop of pagan violence annihilated so precious a member of their body. In short, each repeated glance at this imposture brings it more clearly into view, and strengthens the persuasion that it is nothing more than the gospel of John Adam Schall or of his associates.

Allowing that such a stone was produced at Se-gan-foo, it serves as an instructive link in our history. For three years it lay working its effect in the Chinese temple, yet was not clear enough—like its version—to be marked as a palpable imposture. Meanwhile, in the year 1627, our hero threw himself upon the scene of action, by taking up his abode in that city, and following out the scheme that had been conducted, thus far, with so great dexterity. The time could not be more opportune; for every tongue was telling the wonders of this Christian inscription.

Being cleverly interpreted, it brought an influx of popularity to Schall in 1628, who made instant use of it by proposing to build a temple to the Lord of Heaven. The Mandarins already proselyted gave him the benefit of their influence, the inhabitants crowded to hear him discourse, the learned in their simplicity admired his wisdom, and the rich vied with one another in giving him liberal donations. Taking this tide of better fortune at its flood, he gathered enough

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to build a more handsome church than any other then existing. He baptized, in a short time, no fewer than fifty persons, and rejoiced in finding himself the most notable personage in Se-gan-foo.*

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Before entering on those enterprises which brought him fame in the province of Shen-se, Schall was at Peking, under the instruction of his elders. His particular study was to master the Chinese language, and excel in writing it.† This exercise prepared him for the achievement of the Se-gan-foo wonder, and also enabled him to serve, in a humbler way, his tutors in the metropolis.

When Siù Paulus recommended the Board of Rites to advise the employment of Jesuits for the revision of the calendar, he laid before the Mandarins, as a specimen of their skill, a treatise on eclipses, "which Father Adam Schall, a young German, then residing in the Royal City that he might exercise himself in Chinese letters, had written in two books, printed on the finest paper." They admire the work, and the President conveys a report of the deliberation to the Emperor, who refers the question of the calendar back to the Board for their decision. The donor of the treatise on eclipses, being possessed, as they presume,

* Bartoli, p. 963, et seqq.

† "In urbe regià commoratus, ut se in literis Sinicis exerceret." (*Historica Relatio*, pag. 10.)

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of European learning, is thought best qualified to undertake the work, without any detraction from the honour of the nation, as he is a literate Chinese.

His Majesty confirmed the appointment : Siù Paulus applied all his powers to the duties of the new office, and prepared to bring in a report of his performance. On ten points of astronomy, as he ascertained, his countrymen were in error. There were ten kinds of instruments to be added to those in use, or to be furnished in their stead. The sciences of arithmetic, geometry, hydraulics, music, and optics, waited for introduction into their college, and might become ancillary to the study of the stars. Yet other ten sciences were also necessary to the attainment of perfection. The Emperor smiled graciously on his aspiring doctor, and the literati with pride anticipated the enlargement of their Cyclopædia by the medium of a Chinese, and without concession of praise to the barbarians. Still the barbarians were indispensable instruments, and Father John Terentius was mentioned to the Sovereign as eminently skilled in the construction as well as in the use of those instruments that Siù Paulus enumerated. Over this work the German was appointed in conjunction with Paulus ; and an imperial mandate required all necessary material to be provided, and all expense defrayed out of the public funds, at the order of these colleagues. Longobardi was also in the city, rejoicing in the

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reflection of those rays of supreme complacency that from the countenance of the "Son of Heaven" cheered the heart of the imperial astronomers. And so time passed pleasantly, until an incursion of Tartars, and a sudden increase of native marauders, threw China again into confusion. The tumults, however, were appeased, and stillness once more brooded over the red walls of the palace, or Sacred City, of Peking.

That palace was now occupied by Tsung-ching, a Sovereign far more favourable to the foreigners than his predecessor. From him went forth a decree for the reformation of the calendar. And at the beginning of his reign the Jesuits felt sufficiently confident to hold a sort of General Assembly for the regulation of their own affairs. Summoned from all parts of the empire by the Provincial, they met in the city of Kia-ting, in the province of Nanking, and discussed the nature of the religions prevalent in China, but specially that of the literati with whom they would fain be associated, and whose prejudices they would not willingly contradict. After a careful examination of the matter, they came to the following conclusions.

1. That the Chinese have long been accustomed to offer sacrifices to three sorts of spirits. It is the office of the Emperors to sacrifice to Heaven and Earth, offering them oxen, sheep, and swine. Kings and Viceroys, subjects of the Emperor, sacrifice to a national idol called Ching-hoang.

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The Emperors also sacrifice to their ancestors, in a manner peculiar to themselves ; but, in truth, all sacrifice, whether they be high or low, to all their ancestors of every rank.

2. In many cities there are temples dedicated to Confucius by order of the Emperors, each having a sort of lofty altar with this inscription : "Place of the holy soul of the father of letters, of wondrous holiness, and most eminent perfection." Before this place animals are sacrificed, oblations presented, and prayers made. These facts being established, they conclude "that the honours rendered to Confucius are real sacrifices, and that therefore it is not lawful to pay them." And they further declare their persuasion that neither Confucius who is worshipped, nor the literati who worship, ever had any knowledge of God, and can only be regarded as atheists.

3. With regard to the idol Ching-hoang, they absolutely condemn the acts of adoration performed before it by the Mandarins when they enter on possession of their office. They decide that such adoration is idolatry, and that Christian Mandarins must absolutely avoid giving any honour to this idol.

4. A question arose concerning the Chinese almanacks. And it was decided that as these almanacks contained the lucky and unlucky days, with many superstitious and idolatrous errors, no Christian ought to sell them. And it was also resolved that Siù Paulus, being President of the

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mathematicians or astronomers, and compiler of the almanack, and at the same time professing belief in Christianity, but not yet baptized, could not receive baptism.*—Schall, be it noted, was in this assembly, and subject to the Jesuit rule of obedience, to say nothing of the higher obligation which ought, subsequently, to have restrained him and all the Jesuits, from participation in the idolatry of China.

Adam returned from that assembly to Se-gan-foo, hastened the completion of his temple, and established therein a style of ceremony with so little of what is Christian in it as to be quite inoffensive to the worshippers of Heaven and Earth, the Spirits, the deceased, Confucius, and Ching-hoang.

An imperial edict, dated September 17th, 1629, authorised the revision of the Calendar, for which the labours of Paulus and his colleague had been preparatory. On the death of this colleague Paulus presented a petition to the Emperor, praying that Adam Schall and Jacob Rho might be appointed in his place, to perform the same services, and also to assist him in the calculation of eclipses. The Emperor assented, and the Mandarins of Se-gan-foo, and the city where

* *Morale Pratique des Jesuites*, tome vi., chap. 3. If it be objected that this is a work of M. Arnauld, an enemy of the Jesuits, the answer to justify its quotation is, that he brings his witness, no less a person than Father Longobardi, mentioned above.

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Jacob Rho resided,—I know not where,—had orders to provide them with all things necessary for their journey to Peking, whither they were bidden to come in all the state proper for persons in high office, and to make their appearance in the palace. In the year 1630, Adam received his patent marked with the vermilion pencil, or, as they would say in Spain, rubricated with the royal hand, and lost no time in returning obedience to the summons.

Having paid the due reverence to the throne, if not to the person, of Tsung-ching,—for those Monarchs did not reveal their “bright and serene countenance” to any beyond the official circle, but remained invisible, in an inner chamber,—the Jesuits and their patron toiled with unsparing diligence in the preparation of a great work on Astronomy and Mathematics, comprehended in one hundred and fifty books, and containing the mysteries of those sciences, so far as they had been carried in Europe, or pursued in China; and at the end of five years presented them to His Majesty, under the name of Siù, and in a form of external beauty becoming the personage to whose hands they were consigned. Meanwhile, rescripts and proclamations covered them with honour, and filled them with wealth, and no opportunity was missed for impressing the Chinese people with an idea of the majesty and authority of the Jesuits. Such an opportunity occurred in the year 1634.

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While Schall was absent on a mission, Nicolas Trigault, he that had carried home the memorial to the Pope for the translation of the Bible into learned Chinese, departed this life. Although Christianity, as they say, had not entered the palace, the wisdom of the Jesuits had won them great renown among the inmates of the imperial abode, the slaves,* and ladies. These persons interested themselves so far as to obtain for the departed Father the honours of a public funeral. On the 5th day of May, a very long procession of Christians, so called, proceeded from the temple of the Company, which was near the palace, through the city, passed the gate, and went to the tomb of Ricci, a building consecrated to his memory by the munificence of a former Sovereign. Each carried in one hand a rosary, telling off the beads as he went, and in the other a burning pastil, which emitted a strong perfume. The Father's body, like that of a defunct Mandarin, was laid on a bier so constructed, as to be carriageable by many hands; and was borne by sixteen persons of respectability. Before it went censers, and burning torches in great variety. On either side, and behind, a noted Jesuit, called Doctor Peter, the academicians that were in relation with the Jesuit astronomers, slaves from the palace, Mandarins, and

* I take the liberty of substituting this designation for another, (eunuchs,) which is not so fit for familiar use. The inaccuracy, if there be any, will be forgiven.

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learned men, all in their state dresses ; Gentiles as they were. On reaching the tomb of Ricci, all "the faithful" lit up wax-tapers, and held them burning, while Father Longobardi sang a solemn funeral mass, and preached. "Then began the last reverences towards the deceased, performed in the manner of the country. One by one, each member of the train advanced towards the corpse, and made a slow and profound inclination of his body—a very long ceremony." And as the Chinese notions of propriety did not allow the presence of women in such a place, together with men, a multitude of Chinese ladies stumped their way into the church, during the two days following, and there did reverence, after the same fashion, in honour of the dead. Thus was a ceremony, which the Missioners had solemnly pronounced superstitious and sinful but five or six years before, performed with all the pomp of a grandee funeral for one of their own number. But so dissimilar are actions real from acts ecclesiastical, that it were folly to infer what the former must be, merely from seeing what the latter are.

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The principles of these Jesuits were exemplified in the form of superstition which they endeavoured to propagate in China. Schall's church, as it is sometimes called, in Peking, or, as it then was, his domestic chapel, is

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described by Father Morales, a Dominican, as having an altar in the midst, surmounted by a representation of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary ; but our Lord was represented as in glory, not as crucified. Among other ornaments was a large gilded tablet, with these words engraved,—“Lives, lives the King of China a thousand and millions of years !” Such tablets were hung up in many of the heathen temples, and Priests offered sacrifices before them once every year ; and the Dominican, with horror, declared that this was like setting up the ark with Dagon, and trying to make the temple of God agree with Belial. Another witness related that, in the church built over the tomb of Ricci, a portrait of the Emperor was exhibited, with an altar under it, with lamps and perfumes burning. A baptized Saccristan, named Joseph, kept the lamps trimmed, and burnt the perfumes every morning and evening. By another picture, another altar, and similar worship, they pretended to render honour to our Saviour.

Converts were instructed to bring the portraits of their ancestors to adorn the walls of these half-Christian temples. “What shall I do?” Joachim-ho, on the day of his baptism, asked Father Giulio Aleni : “What shall I do now with these pictures of my ancestors?” “You may hang them up over the altar, beside the image of Jesus Christ.” Another of those baptized

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Chinese had a domestic chapel, furnished with an altar for Christ, rods of office, a paper with the I H S, and also tablets with the names of his ancestors, and small vases, containing perfumes. The baptized Mandarin was told, that his servant might attend him when he went to the idol-temple, carrying a small cross, and place it somewhere within view; that while he seemed to the bystanders to be adoring Ching-hoang, the official god, his thoughts and intention might be directed towards the cross; and that the Lord of heaven would accept the real worship, leaving only apparent reverence to the share of Ching-hoang. The Missioners applauded themselves for this prudence, which retained Mandarins of weak and wavering faith, devoid of constancy enough to give up their mandarinat for the love of Christ.

From the pen of one P. Antonio de Santa María we have a graphic account of the manner of celebrating this mongrel worship. "The interior of the temple was very beautiful, and capable of containing a large congregation; although the edifice itself was not at all magnificent. There were six altars, five of them placed against the walls, three being at the upper end, and the middle one larger than the other two, after the manner of a grand altar; and in which there was not any image. On each side of the building was an altar, the one facing the other, and over each of them a painting of a venerable old

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man, clothed in a long vermilion-coloured robe. Between these, in the middle of the temple, stood another, handsomely covered, and without any image. There were three Ministers, whom you might call Priest and Deacons, to perform the sacrifice. There were two men of letters, very grave, and followed by two youths, who performed the part of Acolytes, and all robed in silk, after the fashion of graduated literati. One of the two Deacons assisted the Priest in his functions, and the other acted as Master of Ceremonies. He that occupied the place of Priest was a Christian; the two Deacons were Heathens, and one of the Acolytes was a Christian. These officers first went in silence to each of the five altars, poured wine into cups that stood on them, and made their genuflexions. Afterwards they went towards the sixth altar, in the middle of the temple; but when yet at a considerable distance from it, they all three made three low bows, and, by that time having reached it, fell on their knees upon the step, and said some prayers in a low voice. Then the Master of Ceremonies, rising on his feet, but without turning his face towards the people, who were also standing, pronounced aloud, in a grave and impressive tone,—KIVI, that is to say, ‘To your knees;’ on which all knelt down at once; and after a moment or two, he said again, HING, ‘Arise!’ and they instantly arose. This was repeated seven or eight times in the intervals of

several prayers, just as we see done during prayers on Good Friday, when we use the words, *FLECTAMUS GENUA*, and *LEVATE*,—‘Kneeldown,’ and ‘Arise.’ This done, the three officiating persons approached the altar: the sacrificing Priest elevated with both hands a cup of wine, just as we elevate the chalice; and, during this elevation, the Master of Ceremonies pronounced, in a loud and serious tone, *HUN CIEU*, ‘The wine is offered,’ and at once the Priest drank it. After this, was elevated in the same manner, the head of a goat, with the skin and hair on it, and the horns dressed with flowers, the Master of Ceremonies proclaiming aloud, *HIEN HIANG*, ‘The goat is offered.’ Fire was then set to a heap of papers prepared outside the door, and the Master of Ceremonies cried with a loud voice: ‘I thank you, on behalf of your ancestors, for the service and honour that you have rendered. And be assured that, in recompense, you shall have happiness, prosperity, rich harvests, abundant fruits, numerous posterity, health, and long life.’ And so the sacrifice was finished. Having left the temple, Father John Baptist and I asked those whom we knew to be Christians, how they could attend at such diabolic ceremonies. The most grave of the literati answered, that the Jesuit Fathers permitted them. We told them that this could not be true, that we saw nothing to make us imagine that the Fathers would permit such things; but they assured us

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that it was even so. 'For they permit us,' said they, 'to honour our ancestors as is done in this country. And this being understood, we can do no otherwise than as our custom requires, and according to our rituals prepared for the purpose.' They showed the ritual of which they made use, and we saw there the forms of prayer that they address to their ancestors."

The witnesses were two Monks, who had just entered China, after learning the language at Macao; and Navarrete, who produces their own words, as now translated, adds, in justification of his hostility to the Jesuits in China, and that of his brethren: "This is what we of the two religions" (Franciscan and Dominican) "reprobate and abominate." And well they might.

Those Monks, who entered the country in the year 1633, and first discovered the sinful compromise committed by the Jesuits, remonstrated with them, and endeavoured to enlighten some of their converts. A Chinese, named Miù, moved by the earnestness of their remonstrance,—although even *they* were not quite exempt from sinful conformity,—wrote to Giulio Aleni, who had baptized him, and, having expressed his surprise that Ministers of the same God should so utterly disagree in their manner of worship, asked for a solution of his doubts. Aleni answered thus:—"You write me concerning the sacrifice of the ancestors, and I see by the care you take to obtain instruction that you mean to keep the

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commandments of God. In kingdoms of little consideration," (the Jesuit speaks of Spain and Italy,) "the thing sacrificed is a considerable matter. No such offerings are there made, and no one thinks of asking any favour of his ancestors; although he does not fail to offer something on the tombs of his chief ancestors," (he speaks of Spain and Italy still,) "and this is with the intention of remembering them, and to give to the poor what they have so offered, recalling to mind the piety of their fathers, and doing good works in their stead. *But in this empire, so exalted above others, it is right to serve the dead as if they were still alive, and to honour them as if they continued still among us.*

"If you consider these two maxims of the master Kung-foo-tsze," (Confucius,) "you will see that this is the same as is taught in our Europe; that is to say, that we should not forget the dead. And thus, following the doctrine of this master, we can well present offerings to our deceased ancestors; since it is not an unlawful thing to remember them. But you will do better still if, after having laid offerings before them, you give those offerings to the poor. If there be any circumstance in this action beyond what I say, I neither approve nor permit it. But we will speak more particularly when we see each other; and I will then converse with your Fathers, and we will see what can be done."

After all this, the reader will be prepared to

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hear that the Jesuits would not exhibit a crucifix, lest the representation of a crucified Saviour should disgust and horrify the Chinese ;* and it might be wished, but for a very different reason, that a crucifix never had been seen in the world. But passing this by, and adding no comment to the facts now related, I cannot but observe that while the Jesuit Aleni was endeavouring to justify the worship of ancestors in China, he most effectually demonstrated its identity with the saint-worship of the Church of Rome. It is the same Paganism in "the Celestial Empire" and in "the Eternal City." There is a Congregation of Rites in Rome, and another in Peking ; and they entirely concur in paying honours to the dead, to the degradation of the living. But when we bear in mind the fearful condemnation pronounced in the word of God on those who teach and do such things, we need not wonder that the Jesuits found it inexpedient to give the Chinese literati this holy word in their own language, and substituted for it a gospel of their own, dug up after much the same fashion as the golden plates of Joseph Smith were said to have been, with the single difference, that the Mormon revelation was but a romance, and the Jesuit monument an actual and elaborate imposture. Having concealed not only the crucifix, but "the

* In the *Morale Pratique*, tom. ii., and *Teatro Jesuitico*, tom. vi., chap. 2, 3, 4, of the same collection, these facts are narrated from the original documents.

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mystery of the cross," it became impossible to carry on their mission without constant fraud.

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With all their schemes for conciliation, the Jesuits could not enjoy peace. The old astronomers read their thesaurus of novel science, and pondered it with sullen and bitter heart-burning. That the movements of heaven and earth were to be descried anew by barbarians, and all the wisdom of ages pass for folly, and a barbarian innovation subvert the decisions of a legally constituted scientific hierarchy, was insufferable. The superstitions of the learned, indeed, lay undisturbed; but the Jesuits contradicted their science, and that contradiction could not be forgiven. Both parties laboured with all their might to discredit each other.

An ancient sage, named Guey, once reputed learned, and long engaged in a fruitless effort to correct the Calendar, came to court, and addressed a memorial to the Emperor, complaining of the indignity inflicted on the nation by the employment of strangers, far less able than the Chinese themselves. Affirming that the Emperor and the empire had suffered an insult, even in the proposal of such a measure, to wipe out the stain of this deplorable mistake he earnestly intreated to be set over the business of revision. The Fathers, alarmed at his vehement appeal to national jealousy, asked Siù Paulus to pacify

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the man by associating him with themselves ; but Siù knew his countryman too well to give him place. By imperial mandate, however, probably issued at the suggestion of the Jesuits, the native astronomers were summoned from all parts of the empire, and required to calculate eclipses, and positions of the planets on given days, and deposit the results under seal, for future inspection. The Jesuits also gave in their predictions ; and the events, as might have been expected, demonstrated their more exact knowledge, and the comparative ignorance of the Chinese.

Meanwhile, the chief imperial astronomer, Siù Paulus, fell sick. The Emperor showed him special honour by sending some one to visit him, with food from his own table ; and Schall waited at his bed-side, to complete the work of conversion by the administration of the sacraments. Idolatrous as he was, and notwithstanding a previous decision to the contrary, Siù entered the church by baptism, was acknowledged and confirmed by the eucharist, and fancied himself made meet for a milder doom by the last anointing. Besides making sure of this convert, Schall gave diligence further to promote the common cause ; and the dying man “ also despatched some other matters, which he proposed to him, either for recommending more worthy academicians to the Emperor, or for settling his domestic affairs.” Of course those domestic affairs were

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settled to the satisfaction of the Jesuits; and they reaped honour again from another Jesuitico-Chinese funeral, passed off under the name of Christian.

At the recommendation of Siù Paulus, when on his death-bed, another proselyted Mandarin, Ly Petrus, became Prefect of Astronomy, but failed to satisfy their expectation. The union of natives and foreigners in the academy tended to induce confusion; and, as the Jesuits prepared two almanacks every year, one planetary and the other vulgar,—astrology being mingled with astronomy, and fates with seasons,—Petrus, an easy man, saw no harm in allowing the sturdy rival, Guey, to erect an academy of his own. Hence arose a troublesome opposition, and Schall threw himself on resources quite independent of the influence of grandees, and the authority of the Monarch.

Father Adam had made a celestial globe, a planisphere for ascertaining the hour by the stars, and an armillary sphere, all of large size. The material was brass, gilded. He had also produced a horizontal sun-dial, an instrument hitherto unknown in China, supported on a pillar decorated with golden dragons, the dragon being the imperial arms. This last instrument, by supreme permission, already stood within the outer wall of Peking; which is described as enclosing a very extensive area, with woods, ponds, a race-course, and even hills stocked with game.

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Within this there was a second mural enclosure, around the chief part of the habitations ; and inmost was the imperial palace, or Sacred City, surrounded by a third wall painted with vermilion. Following in the track of Ricci, Schall aspired to deposit his instruments within this third wall ; and the Emperor, curious to see them, sent two of the slaves to inspect their structure, and ascertain their use. They reported very indistinctly ; but His Majesty, still inquisitive, commanded the instruments to be brought within the first wall. Thither he came, after a dignified delay of two days, was gratified at the sight, and commanded them to be carefully preserved.

Encouraged by this condescension, the astronomical Missioners ventured to ask him to accept the instruments, and allow them to be placed within the vermilion wall, where he might at all times behold them. And not only did Tsung-ching consent, but commanded the makers, Schall and Rho, themselves, to bring them in ; forbidding any others to enter into those awful chambers, where only the Sovereign, the Queens, the slaves, and the women, had the right to penetrate. There they deposited their work, proud and glad ; and then the Majesty invisible sent them meats from his table, and dismissed them graciously. Rivals held their peace, on hearing that the handiwork of the foreigners had come under the eye of Tsung-ching. Globe, sphere, and planisphere, as they underwent his daily exami-

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nation, silently pleaded in praise of their makers ; but most especially the planisphere, which the imperial hands handled, and which taught him to trust the prognostics of the Fathers rather than the guesses of the Chinese.

Encouraged again by intimations of assurance from within the Sacred City, Father Adam raised yet higher the European reputation, by sending to some of the inmates presents of portable sundials, telescopes, and other novelties of the kind, procured at Macao, or made by the Fathers "when they were not busy winning souls." His literary labour at that time was the composition of a work on comparative astronomy, intended to exhibit the rival systems in contrast with each other, and so to invite the judgment of all China in favour of the Jesuits. Anxious to hasten that judgment, he invited Guey to meet him in a public disputation. He accepted the challenge, and they argued, while grandees listened, notaries recorded, and the partisans on either side watched for the least mistakes.

Emboldened yet more, by the consciousness of superior science, and presuming to push his prognostications even beyond the stars, he dared to send the Emperor a presage of an appearance of Jupiter in an unlucky aspect. Few Chinese, even with foreknowledge of such an evil omen, would have risked their heads by its announcement. Guey, ever watchful for opportunity, sent up a memorial to assure His Majesty that no such demon-

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stration of planetary enmity would come to pass. But the time predicted came. Slaves of the highest rank arrived from the palace to the observatory, an ancient edifice, in order to watch the heavens. They entered alone, having reproached the Fathers with a wish to see the imperial city devoured by flames; for that was the precise effect which their astrology assigned to such a cause as that malignant aspect of Jupiter. And they not only used hard words, but obtained exclusive possession of the place, leaving the Fathers to descry the transit with their naked eyes. The slaves, authorised by their master to shut the Jesuits out of the observatory, saw the planet pass over the evil-boding stars. Ly Petrus, timorous, spent the night in tears. Schall and Rho, more strongly nerved, waited, or prepared, for the event. The slaves, although astonished at the portent, resolved not to carry back unwelcome tidings; and returned to the palace, by dawn of day, to tell the Emperor that the hour of peril was past, that Jupiter was auspicious, and Peking safe. But fate attests! Before the shades of night return upon the seraglio and the city, a noise reverberates along those mysterious courts where Tsung-ching walks ruminating on the strifes and uncertainties of science. Startled by the explosion, he sends messengers to ascertain its cause or its effects; and soon they reappear, pale with terror, telling him, that a quantity of gunpowder,

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in a place distant from the observatory about a quarter of a mile, has blown up, levelled they know not how many houses, and killed they know not how many persons. About five hundred corpses afterwards reproved "the perverse silence" of the native astronomers; and that detonation was instantly declared to be the very voice of an evil fate, witnessing the soundness of Jesuit astronomy by a planet-sent calamity. A striking miracle no doubt it was, and a miracle that would not have occurred, if Schall and Rho had not been that night as busy as another Catesby and Guy Faukes, while their Chinese President was innocently weeping in his chamber. Their exclusion from the observatory, a splendid building, of great privilege, ceased as soon as the same authority that forbade their entrance could be induced to sanction their return; but it is probable that some time elapsed, notwithstanding the attestation of the gunpowder to the conjunction of those fatal stars, before that object was attained. Shortly afterwards, Jacob Rho went to his last account.

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Still a cloud hung over the prospects of the Missioners. They became obnoxious to the Mandarins in the province of Füh-kéen, and Father Aleni and his companions were compelled to retreat to Macao, while Schall and his bre-

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thren sat at home in sackcloth. But they waited with patience for better times.

Thieves, or, to speak more correctly, rebels, troubled the provinces and threatened to attack the metropolis. The chiefs of the Military Board held solemn consultation as to the conjurations, the ceremonies, or the contrivances most proper to avert the consequences of the insurrection from the triple city of Peking. Common sense spoke loud enough to admonish them that they were unprepared to stand a siege; and conscious of inability to oppose any effectual resistance to a horde of "thieves," they advised the King to empower them to ask advice of the Europeans. Bands of rebels infested the neighbourhood, and came up to the very walls. The soldiers, instead of dispersing them, fled into the city for shelter, imploring help.

Again Ly Petrus ran to Tsung-ching, reminded him of the skill of the disfavoured foreigners, and proposed that Father Adam should be elevated to sufficient rank, and employed in preparing artillery. His Majesty accepted the nomination, but not without some reluctance; and bade the Supreme President of the Military Board go to him as if to make an ordinary visit, engage him in conversation about guns, and then, if he talked like a man skilled in such matters, present him with a patent, ready signed, which he was to carry in his bosom. The

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President called on Schall, talked about guns, found him versed in the art of gunnery, and then presented him with the imperial instrument, and walked away. The Jesuit could not receive an honour or an office out of the Society without some reflection, nor ought he to take any honour without a show of unwillingness; and therefore he called back the President, declared that his knowledge had been all acquired in study of books alone, and that he had not that experience which could be only attained to in a camp. The studies of such as he were sedentary and speculative; and His Majesty needed servants of experience. The grandee insisted on acquiescence; and as he rose in authority, Schall sunk in modesty. It could not be! How could it be? The President answered, that having delivered the imperial commission, and so fulfilled the service imposed on him, he could do no more than carry back a memorial to the King, praying for exemption from the work. Schall penned a memorial, but not of the kind effectual to gain exemption from the office and from the dignity impending; and the Emperor persisted in his commands. John Adam Schall is now to direct the operations of a cannon-foundry, and the Emperor gives orders to provide him with materials for producing the machines of war. Copper, tin, and iron are brought in great quantities, and heaped up in a spacious piece of ground, marked off and enclosed expressly for

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this purpose. The Emperor goes every day to an eminence, whence he can see the work, attended by a train of those domestic slaves. Chinamen, to any number wanted, are impressed, and brought to labour in the foundery. Native mathematicians come also, but with evil eye on the barbarian. Schall complains in his correspondence, that they employ all manner of contrivances to retard his operations, mortify him, and disappoint the King. The new vocation cannot be very easy in itself ; and his own inexperience, with the stupidity of some, and the malice of others, and the dishonesty of all, makes it hard indeed. But he perseveres. Having made some cannon, he casts balls also, and at length proceeds to try a gun. The trial succeeds, and Tsung-ching hears a report near at hand, not unlike another that he has not yet forgotten ; he startles and shudders ; and supposing that a drove of his vassals must have been swept away, asks if the European Father is safe. Informed of the favourable event, his terror changes into joy, he hurries proudly to the artillery-ground, and there finds that the Jesuit gun, with Jesuit powder and Jesuit shot, has thundered the petulance of rivals into silence, and trusts that its fame will impress reverence on the thieves.

Having foreseen the effect on the senses and superstition of the Chinese, that so rare an achievement could not fail to produce, Schall stood ready to make the most of it. The work-

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men, sharing in his exultation, would fall down to worship the spirit of fire; for they thought that that spirit had come to bless their handiwork. But already an image, said to represent the Son of Mary, was prepared, and erected over an altar. Robed in a splendid surplice, he invited them to kneel down with him, and adore his Lord. They recollected that he had revered their idol Ching-hoang, and refused not to return the compliment. The Emperor commanded them to pay honour to his God, "because," said he, "they do not despise the spirits that we worship; but yet they adore one God and keep His precepts." After a long ceremony of prostrations before the image of Him whose doctrine and whose example were ever so utterly unlike the occasion of this festivity, people crowded from every quarter by thousands to survey and wonder, and after each discharge clapped their hands. The great guns being finished, so far, at least, as practicable, Tsung-ching now accepts a proposal to supply the army with field-pieces, to accompany the camp, and Schall begins to cast a considerable number. But the unwarlike tenants of the palace steal the metal; and the military men, knowing no medium between fight and flight, pray His Majesty to countermand the order, seeing that with such impediments as artillery it would be impossible for the troops to run away in an hour of danger.

After two years' perseverance in the making of

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guns, powder, and ball, a contagious disease broke out, and interrupted those operations. Many of the workmen died; and in the house where Father Adam abode some of the native occupants expired; but the Europeans, they say, were all spared. It seemed, just then, that he might have gathered a fresh laurel for his Company by some conversions, especially by that of one courtier, who lay sick, and was deserted by his own servants. Schall waited on him day and night, showing himself superior to fear. He tended him with his own hands, condescended to render every attention, and bent over him with a tender and fatherlike regard that ought to have touched his heart, and won him over to adore the God of his benefactor. As his last moments drew on, Schall offered him "celestial help;" but he understood not the virtue of the ceremonies,—“he was not found worthy of the kingdom of God.” The breath left his nostrils, and he died a Heathen. He believed in Ching-hoang, to whom Schall had burnt perfumes. He trusted in spirits whom Schall never had named with disrespect. He revered ancestors whom Schall had honoured with oblations. He refused to quit the sect which Schall had been careful not to scandalise. But, after all, the Jesuit refused to allow his corpse a place of burial; and thus, “slung into an obscure corner, it lay for a very long time, unburied and putrid; yet was he more wretched still, in that he had

fallen from the hope of eternal salvation." So much for the tender and assiduous charity of this Ignatian emissary! While there was hope of making a proselyte, for which end he had compassed sea and land, his charity was heroic; but no sooner did he miss the prize, than the charity turned into hatred, bitter, malignant, and so proud, that he recorded the evidence of consistency with the spirit of the Church, to be proclaimed to his honour in the Propaganda. And fellow-Missioners thought it so becoming their profession, that they printed it in the universal language of the learned, to be told from one generation to another.

A supply of cannon being cast, the Emperor wished to strengthen the defences of Peking. Hearing from the European that a wall might be made to serve other purposes besides those of mere enclosure and resistance, he desired to borrow the advantages of military fortification; and the Jesuit, who had, no doubt, suggested the scheme, erected a wooden framework outside the city, as a model of the fortification that he would build. The military men came to inspect it with him, by command of Tsung-ching. They seemed convinced that from bastions thus formed, artillery might be directed with far greater effect upon the enemies, than from the straight lines of mason-work hitherto built for mere protection; and it was resolved that the city should be re-fortified without delay. But

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another company of mathematicians came upon the ground, surveyed the model, and affirmed that its adoption would bring down destruction, inasmuch as the shape of salient angles resembles flame, emulates the form of fire, and has a natural affinity with Mars, the star of war, whose deadly influences such a configuration would attract. Hence they inferred, the work of the Jesuit would be fatal to the city, and that, without madness, it could not be adopted. This judgment altogether turned the counsels of the men of war, and they ordained the bulwarks to be repaired after another fashion. Schall tried to demonstrate their mistake; but they heeded him not, and had greater delight in baffling the barbarian than in preparing for the evil day now close at hand. "If I were a thief," said he, "I would make a breach in this wall and enter here." He was then riding under the wall with a company of military Mandarins, who ought to have seen that place repaired; but it was neglected. The thieves came, and, after sitting down before the city for three days, untroubled by the discharge of even an arrow or a stone, they did make the breach, and enter just there. So exact a coincidence between prediction and fulfilment indicates a probable alternative. Either this is a decoration of the tale, a *post factum* prophecy,—which is less likely,—or else Schall betrayed the city by pointing out the part where it might be taken.

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Either he compassed his point, or compassed revenge on those who hindered.

By help of a donation from the Emperor, of a sum equal to two thousand scudi, the Jesuits had purchased an estate, on which they lived in a style corresponding to their position. Schall received an equivalent to twelve scudi every new moon, as salary for teaching in the Academy; and now that his labours became so valuable, the Board of Ceremonies asked the King to give him some special mark of distinction.

On a piece of silk, within a border of imperial dragons, in gold, His Majesty wrote in vermilion four characters, which Bartoli spells by *Chin Pao Tien Hio*, and understands to mean: "I the King approve, and learn the science of heaven,"—European astronomy. With great ceremony this was taken to the Jesuit house. A Mandarin, on horseback, carried it aloft, after the fashion of a banner, the streets being lined with Chinese, who knelt as he passed, in honour of the Emperor's word. After him rode a long train of "gentlemen" from the palace, two Governors of cities, with their attendants, the Mandarins of the Board of Ceremonies, and several Mandarins of five other boards, all in full dress. Schall, Ly Petrus, and the Mandarins of their Academy, met them in state; and thus the united procession reached their house, followed by an imperial cavalcade. The four words were carried up into a large apartment, and placed on

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a richly-covered table, before which all present made solemn reverence. This writing, called *Papien*, was presented on January 6th, 1639. Other two *Papiens* were added by inferior authorities; and during several weeks the three were hung up in as many halls, open to the public, who crowded to admire and to make their bows, and copies were sent to all the houses of the Company in the provinces. Father Adam was now approaching towards the summit of his glory.

Having attended him through his military labours, and seen him crowned with honours, we must now relate how he managed, at the same time, to prosecute his chief object, the introduction of some sort of religion into China.

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In the thirteenth year of Tsung-ching, (A.D. 1640,) the Christian law, as they boast, was insinuated into the Sacred Palace of Peking. The entrance of Romanism came to pass thus.

Siù Paulus had promised in the name of the Fathers, that when they had finished their great work on astronomy, they would communicate other mathematical arts to the Chinese, not failing to provide them with optical, hydraulic, and mechanical instruments, as well as astronomical. They further intimated that they would add the science and instruments of music, which they kept in reserve, the better to whet the edge

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of curiosity. At this time the Emperor found a clavichord, laid up among the treasures of his palace, where the gifts of generations were accumulated. Ricci had sent it to his grandfather, Wan-lěih, thirty-nine years before; and so long as the strings obeyed the keys it added much to the estimation of European art in the mind of all the harem. And there were Latin words on it which no one could decipher—*Cantate Domino canticum novum*,—"Sing unto the Lord a new song." To Father Adam, whose extraordinary genius made him to be thought a universal artist, this old instrument was sent that he might renew its powers. Not only was he to repair and tune it, but the Emperor commanded him to make another of the same kind. Schall hastened to fulfil the commission; and besides having a second clavichord constructed, he wrote a Chinese book to teach the Emperor the art of playing on that instrument, and inserted therein some psalms adapted to notes of music, and to be accompanied by the voice. Nor was this all. Other instruments followed, with other music; and in the depths of that invisible abode resounded notes, to which anthems of the Church were sung in Europe.

And the occasion of musical correspondence with the palace was not to be allowed to pass over unimproved. Father Adam possessed a volume of surpassing beauty, presented to the Mission by a former Duke of Bavaria, Maximilian.

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It contained a life of Christ, represented in forty-five drawings, on leaves of parchment, and explained by a brief history, written in gold and richly illuminated. The elaborate and massy binding was adorned with figures of the four Evangelists in rilievo, and rich with silver. Schall, who excelled in managing the pencil, wrote a Chinese version or paraphrase of the Latin text on the parchment yet remaining blank. But the paraphrase was not written until after long consultation with Longobardi, and a Portuguese Jesuit, Furtado, and devised "in that dexterous manner that was so necessary, as otherwise he would not so much as turn his eye towards it, to read it, much less fix his mind to consider it." *

Besides the book, which was as beautiful as the combined art of the scribe, painter, carver, and silversmith could make it, the Father possessed another very precious object; a representation, in high relief, of the three Kings worshipping the infant Jesus. The material was wax, exquisitely coloured, so that the infant, more especially, almost seemed to live. This toy the Most Serene Duke had sent to be presented to His Celestial Majesty, when such a gift might be deemed opportune. And now the time was come. Schall prepared the gifts, and on September 8th, 1640, went in procession towards the inner wall, with music sounding by the way.

* Bartoli, lib. iv.

As they drew near, a chief courtier met them ; and being enraptured with the music and the gifts, ushered in the whole company at once to the presence of Tsung-ching, in spite of the opposition of the guards, and gave him the memorial of the Jesuits,—for such a document has to be produced by all who approach the Emperor, even in the most distant manner,—setting forth a description of the presents, and giving such an account of the life of our Lord Jesus Christ, as might not be foolishness or a stumbling-block to the Pagan. The book was wrapped in a cloth of silk and gold ; and before the Emperor would touch it, he washed his hands for the sake of reverence, then removed the covering, and sat down fixed in admiration. The valuables were long retained in the imperial presence, examined with minute attention, and then committed to the care of the officers to whom this charge belonged, that they might bring them forth again.

But the Emperor chiefly delighted in the book. He sat before it by the hour, admiring the pictures, and conning the Chinese explanations. So absorbed was he in admiration that, once, when they called him to dinner, he forgot to come. They say that he called his chief wife to look at the infant Jesus, and, pointing at the figure, said, “ See you this child ? He is greater, beyond comparison, than all our spirits.” And then the lady fell on her knees before it, and with her forehead touched the floor. Then



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came the three wives, with long trains of dames, to see the pictures and the wax-work, to which he again directed their attention. "See you this child?" said he, once more: "O, how much better that your Fo!" (chief idol.) "And that figure!" (a magus,) "O, how much more holy than King ——!" naming an ancient King of China.

After much of this kind of contemplation, the Emperor caused the book to be laid open, and the wax-work placed aloft in the spacious hall of the palace of "the great virtues;" and gave permission to all the inmates of the harem to go into the hall to see them; and there, during ten days, ladies of every grade, and their servile attendants, gazed with amazement at works of art, such as Chinese eyes had never before seen. And in reverence to the Emperor, as well as in wonder before the images, they made solemn and multiplied prostrations, as His Majesty and the three Queens had already done.

Besides the paraphrase explanatory of the drawings, the Fathers had sent in, as we have noticed, a carefully-composed memorial, descriptive, so far as was deemed prudent, of their religion. This the Emperor perused again; and it was reported that he had said it was very good, but too short. Schall heard this; and, to supply the deficiency, wrote a longer composition, in a form of a Catechism, and took it to him before the end of the year.

They say that another memorial came from the province of Fo-kien, against Aleni and Christianity. One of the court-slaves brought it in, and in reading it said something in disfavour of the persons accused ; but Tsung-ching frowned the reader down, and bade him quit his presence, and never come into it again. The Mandarin who sent the memorial was deprived of his situation, and the document went back with a rescript to this effect :—"There are as many absurdities as sentences on this leaf." Another memorial accused Schall of some offence ; but the rescript was most summary, and, by consequence, the Mandarin through whom it came was thrown into prison next day, tortured, and afterwards punished with great severity. Such demonstrations of patronage brought the worship of the Jesuits into great repute ; and in recognition of the reverence paid by them to the Chinese ancestors, the six Presidents of the Council of State went also to their temple, and there performed four prostrations before a picture of our Saviour. Their example was followed in other places.

The distinction between civil respect and religious worship is, to say the least, uncertain. Persons who laid their faces in the dust in honour of a sovereign whom they could not see, and who fell down before his portrait, or in the same form adored the effigy of Ching-hoang, could not possibly separate the civil from the sacred in

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their conceptions of reverence. Thus, after the ten days' exhibition of those objects, it might be said that new idols had received worship in the palace. Some of the slaves, who had seen similar idols in the Jesuits' chapel, had also admired, bowed down and worshipped; and by the easy administration of baptism, without renunciation of the ancient superstition, they were made Christians, far enough to answer all the purposes of their new Priests. To these persons, the objects of admiration, although more beautiful than any they had seen before, were not strange; but the women of the harem, who could see no more, in their seclusion, than what happened to be brought within the walls, could not forget the new idols, nor cast off a desire for the new devotion. The imagery dwelt on their thoughts by day, revived in dreams, and became the subject of general speculation. Then the slaves explained to the women as much as they knew of it, and both parties fancied themselves in possession of the whole body of Christian doctrine. Schall heard of this, and authorised the baptized slaves to confer baptism on the women; it being impracticable for any one not belonging to the harem to enter it, for that or any other purpose. Several women were baptized accordingly.

Agatha, Helena, and Theodora, now passed for Christian ladies. They were ladies of the first order, a select class of twelve, having rank next

after the three Queens. It was their privilege to attend near the person of the Emperor, and read aloud the petitions of his vassals. They even participated, slightly, in the honours of literary rank, and therefore, stood high in the estimation of the ladies of China, as well as in the palace. Beyond other mortals, they enjoyed the honour of sitting in the presence of His Majesty, who beguiled the monotony of his existence by playing at chess with them, and hearing them chat. "If you would compare Chinese and European courts, they must rank with daughters of Princes, if not by birth, at least by dignity." After these followed Lucia, Secunda, and others; damsels of the second order. And, in remoter circles, about fifty received Christian names. Thus did a band of proselytes rise up around the throne of China; and, if they had not the experience of new-born Christians, they had the zeal and vivacious enthusiasm of new-made converts.

Jesuitry now became an element even in the gossip and in the broils of harem-life. A heathen girl, quarrelling with a Christian mate, laid information to the chief Queen that her naughty troubler was a Christian; but Her Majesty scolded the complainant, and pronounced a sentence of commendation on the Christian law, which sentence gave great comfort to the young beginners. Another girl, a little one, forgetting that she was a Christian, spoke impertinently to a heathen lady; but as a

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direction of conscience was already established for the new community, she was bidden to make her back bare, kneel before the door of the offended person, and flog herself loudly with a discipline. The neighbouring chambers being disturbed by the sound, the young penitent was carried off, just thus, into the presence of Her Majesty, to be dealt with as a maniac. But she declared that the Christian law required her to make amends for her bad conduct to the offended lady ; and as she knew no other method of washing away her fault than by a voluntary castigation, she had inflicted it upon herself, and now begged for pardon. Her Majesty was astonished at the girl's penitence, and, wondering at the novel method of expiation, let her go to her place again, a little heroine.

The fifty baptized women, being unable to behold their new spiritual chiefs, the Fathers, met together to confer about the duties of their new religion, and agreed that they would contribute towards the clothing and board of the Jesuits' domestics, and send offerings to their temple. Thenceforth, each lady sent her slave to the Father of her choice, bearing gifts ; and the Father sent back the messenger charged with blessings and advices. Such intercourse with the outer world had never before been held, and both Jesuits and ladies entered with all their heart into the romantic correspondence. But the best works are liable to drawback ; and so

it came to pass in this instance, that the messengers dropped the pious oblations into their own pockets, defrauding the intention of the givers, and abstracting from the service of the Mission almost all the money contributed. Father Adam perceived how matters were going, and anxiously laboured to devise a remedy.

He thought of the field in which he could not personally labour, but where he might exercise much delegated influence. There was the Emperor, to whom, however, he had access by many channels, and whom he could occasionally see. There was the chief Queen, legal participatress of his dignity. Then there were three Queens who bowed the knee before Her Majesty. After these came the chosen twelve, who waited before the Monarch, and of whom three called themselves Christians. Two thousand females, classified in several degrees of honour, occupied the chambers of the vast palace. These had been supplied as presents on the Emperor's birth-day, and on other festivals, by the most obsequious or the most aspiring candidates for favour. There were also ten thousand of those miserable slaves that serve in such places ; but here, through their number and avocations, they constituted an extremely influential court. All of mean birth, they were brought in periodically, as the number, thinned by death, needed reinforcement, and sorted according to their health and abilities. The

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best were stationed near the Emperor and his wives, the others were variously distributed. At that time twenty-four Tribunals or Boards of Government, assembled within the palace, at all of which they served. The bulk of those persons waited on the women, or were employed in transacting business out of the Sacred City. The community, therefore, was at once powerful and abject. They occupied the seat of government, and swayed its authority over all the empire ; but they were by origin mean, and in condition despicable. Yet Schall hoped that, among them all, some one might be found capable of confidence, and fit to be constituted his representative among the women.

After diligent inquiry and observation, he found one Vam, who had been affluent in earlier life, but was ruined by some reverse in business, then condescended to become qualified for admission into the palace, and had there waited on the nurse of the last Emperor. It was not without long solicitation that he consented to call himself a Christian ; but at length he underwent an unusually careful initiation, was baptized by the name of Joseph, that name figuring the trust and privilege that were to be conferred on him in the imperial abode. Father Adam appointed him to be his Vicar in the discharge of the "apostolical office : " he entered on its functions with zeal, and again conversions multiplied. The account of his ministrations is amusing.

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One woman dreams that she has seen a book with I H S on the title-page, which a venerable and aged man bids her take and read. She talks of the dream ; a young companion runs to Vam, who makes haste to verify it, by giving her a Jesuit Catechism, with the distinctive symbol, which she recognises, and is baptized by the name of Agatha. Agatha gets into disgrace but four days afterwards ; but Vam, deeming himself to be protector of all Christian women, uses his influence, and she is forgiven, much to the confirmation of her faith.

Helena, conscious of beauty, sins by wearing earrings, to make herself more attractive. This piece of girlish vanity is noised abroad, and they have not been long pendant when a girl of inferior class undertakes to be her monitress. "Helena," says she, "our father and master, Adam, sent me this whip, that with it I might give you fifty stripes, to correct your vanity." She takes the hint, and, lest her master Adam, through his Vicar Vam, should enforce penitential discipline, she puts away the ornaments.

Another woman asks Joseph to get her promoted to an upper class, and promises that, if he can obtain her desire, she will become a Christian. He engages to pray for her promotion, and after a short time she is unexpectedly advanced. But in her prosperity she forgets Joseph. In the dead of the night a man appears in her chamber, with a threatening countenance ;

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next morning she bruits the adventure, and Vam goes to remind her of the broken promise. She is baptized.

Cecilia, a servant, is bringing in a dish of macaroni-soup to Tsung-ching on his birth-day, and by accident lets it slip out of her hand. This is an evil omen, and she almost sinks into the earth with terror, apprehending disgrace, at least, from the anger of His Majesty. A Christian sister standing by instantly whispers into her ear that she should vow two hundred rosaries to the Virgin, to be paid if she gets free. The confusion is ludicrous, and Tsung-ching laughs. All right! The Virgin has wrought a miracle by changing the tyrant's heart. This adds to the credit of Mary-worship in the sculleries.

"The sacred amulet which we call *Agnus Dei*" works wonderfully in behalf of one woman who is in peril of being degraded for quarrelling. All concerned in the fray are chastised with various degrees of severity; but she who carried the amulet in her bosom comes out unharmed. "Equally admirable are the effects of holy water. Not one only, but almost all, even those who are not yet Christians, quickly remove spots from their faces by washing with it, just as if it were an unguent compounded for this very purpose. When any one of them sees freckles or stains upon her skin, but especially in her face, she instantly goes to an image of the Saviour, falls down, wets her face with the water in form

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of a cross, and the blemish disappears." And equally admirable we must confess the ingenuity of the Jesuit to be, who can think of sending a cosmetic into the harem under the name of holy water. And that his ingenuity did not end here is clear from another fact, that those personages of the palace, whose office it was to recruit that establishment, quarrelled among themselves in consequence of the Christian part of them preferring, for the supply, females that were to be found in Adam Schall's chapel. Christianity, however, would have diminished the force of that custom, and a Christian church ought to have been the last place to look for females to fill such a destination; but Jesuitism must lose its nature before it can promote morality.

TAKES MILITARY RANK.

The people of Peking knew little of what went on beyond the walls, and rebellion gained ground in the provinces. Tsung-ching, buried in effeminacy, and surrounded by menials who loved him not, because he had not pampered them to their content, concealed the intelligence of insurrections, in hope that he might be dethroned. Guns were cast, but there were not men to work them, and the Mandarins and courtier-slaves could not agree on any method of defence.

At length the inhabitants of the neighbouring

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country crowded into Peking for shelter with such unwonted frequency, strong bands of insurgents spreading terror and death in all directions, that it was impossible to prevent him from hearing rumours of danger. The Viceroy of the province of Shan-se, pressed with the necessity of providing against irruptions of the Tartars, against whom the Great Wall provided but a poor protection, prayed the Emperor to send him the European mathematician, in order to aid in putting the province into a posture of defence. Schall went, but found that the Viceroy had no conception of the resources necessary for the provision of artillery, or, if he had, could not command them; and he therefore hastened back again, attended by a request from the same Viceroy that he might be invested with authority to assist in directing the military operations of the province, and return to that effect. The Emperor consented; made him a Colao, or Minister of State, and "Chief of Armies." So long as the enemy was not in sight, the Viceroy managed very well, and Schall attended him in brilliant military state.

An incident related by Navarrete shows the pomposity of a Jesuit Mandarin, in such a position.* "When the Chinese General was

* The Mandarin here mentioned was probably Martinez, the author of the "Atlas Sinicus." This passage of Navarrete is quoted by Arnauld, *Morale Pratique*, tom. vi., p. 147.

going to fight the Tartars, he had a Missioner with him who was Mandarin of Artillery. He lodged in our house" (of the Dominicans), "where he had the best reception that we could give him. But as he travelled with great magnificence, and our Friars go clad poorly and humbly, the infidels doubted if our religious and this Missioner were all Europeans. To remove this doubt, it was agreed that one of our brethren should meet him in public, that they might speak together. A day and hour was fixed on for this purpose: Father Francisco Diaz, a celebrated Missioner, and great servant of God, went on foot, a distance of two hours over a bad road, to fall in with him. The Missionary Mandarin was in his carriage, with all the gravity, and followed by all the train, of one of his rank. Our brother presented himself before him. But when the Father Mandarin saw him in this humble condition, and without servants, he passed on contemptuously, without condescending to notice him, leaving him in great confusion, in the presence of a thousand persons, and some Christians among them, who had hoped, by this means, to get some credit for their spiritual Fathers. When a good Christian afterwards asked this Father Mandarin, why he had treated the Dominican Father so uncivilly before all the world, he answered sharply: 'And do you think I should have got out of my carriage to show civility to such a man as that?'"

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The Father Colao, having ascertained the state of the country, and professing to be unable to get the Viceroy to go out to fight, came back to court with doleful tidings, and advised the Emperor to lose no time in defending his own capital. But in relating this part of the history he said, that the slaves beset Tsung-ching with delusions and with heathen charms, and even in the last extremity made him careless of his own affairs.

Yet there were seventy thousand soldiers in the city, with three thousand Eunuchs, acting officers; and either an old prophecy or a Jesuit invention is adduced to say, that it was written that when three thousand dogs ran along the walls, Peking would fall. Of provisions and munitions of war there was no lack. Many cannon were visible on the walls, and the rebels expected every moment to feel the shot; but not a gun was fired, and the day after the formation of the hostile force, those *semiviri*, as our "Historical Relation" calls them, forsook their posts. The Emperor, finding himself betrayed, mounted a horse, and, attended by six hundred horsemen, dashed out of the Sacred City, crossed the other, and incautiously advanced towards that part of the outermost wall where the enemy was waiting. By one of the nine gates, just near the Jesuit house, he tried to make good his flight; but the slaves, who had refused to defend his walls, closed in upon him and drove him back. He then galloped towards another gate;

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but there his own guns were turned against him, and, as he fled back, the traitors fired them on him, and he returned in despair to the palace, there to perish. After the custom of the Chinese when in presence of an enemy whom they cannot hope to conquer, to seek refuge in death, he first exhorted his chief Queen to hang herself, and his three sons to flee. Then, having also implored his only daughter not to fall alive into the hands of thieves, he tried to kill her by the stroke of a sword, but could only cut off her right hand, as she raised it to ward off the blow. Then, bewildered, he ran to a hill from which he used to look down upon the workmen in the arsenal. There he cut his left arm with his sword, dipped a pencil in the blood, and wrote on the margin of his robe,—for he was a fine writer,—“Health to the future Emperor, Lis by name. I implore thee not to hurt my people, nor use my magistrates.” This done, he pulled off his boots, threw away the imperial cap, and hung himself by his sash upon a gate. With him fell the dynasty of Ming; and it is said that eighty thousand of the race fell at the same time.

Next day three hundred thousand rebels entered the metropolis. Their chief went to the Sacred City, and offered 100,000 pieces of gold as a reward for the person of Tsung-ching; but no one knew what had become of him, until, after some time, he was found hanging. The chief

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Queen had also hung herself. The invaders gave their bodies an honourable burial.

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The rebels had entire possession of Peking, and we may well imagine how the barbarian horde would plunder and devour. The Jesuits' house being near one of the gates, when the hungry multitude began to rush in upon the city, the Fathers tell us that they gave themselves up for lost, and that Schall commanded his servants to go into the chapel, and there wait their fate. It is, however, remarkable enough, that, notwithstanding the size of their house, with manifest marks of rank and affluence, the rapacity of the rebels was not provoked. While they broke into all the neighbouring houses, and, after murdering the inhabitants, burnt many of them down, they respected Schall and his establishment; and, in order to guard them against outrage, placed a board over the door, forbidding the soldiers to do any injury to the European Priest. Whether his reputation bespoke their favour, or whether he had himself bespoken it by correspondence with the advancing enemy, making the best of circumstances, it is not easy to say; but, assuredly it is remarkable, that the man who had been working so hard for two or three years to defend Peking, who now bore the highest rank as a member of the government, and was also a military Mandarin, with title of Chief of Armies,

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that this man should be passed by harmlessly, and even treated with especial favour by the faction whom he had so strenuously laboured, or seemed to labour, in order to repel.

As soon as the first confusion was quelled, Father Adam was summoned into the presence of the leader of the rebellion; and of course we read that he went thither with trembling, in expectation of some dreadful sentence: but a brother of the arch-rebel saw him in the crowd of suppliants, which was very great, singled him out, led him into an apartment of the palace, gave him refreshment, and then dismissed him with compliments. They had much conversation, the purport of which did not transpire. All we can say is, that for a man covered with favours, and enriched by the bounties of the reigning Monarch of China during fifteen years, and for one who professed so much loyalty to the Sovereign in the country of his adoption, that friendly understanding with his enemy, even before there had been any opportunity for holding an open correspondence, is more than suspicious, and would be quite enough to cover any Protestant Missionary with infamy in the eyes of all the world.

And now the mathematicians "hoisted sail to catch the breeze." No tear fell on the grave of poor Tsung-ching; but those Jesuits gathered from his miserable end the conclusion, that God had punished him for not yielding himself

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altogether to their religion. Some one reported that he had been observed to pace his apartment thoughtfully, and to express a wish for further information concerning the books and pictures ; and because those toys, and the Catechism sent by Schall, did not induce him to be baptized, it was concluded that God had avenged his contempt of Christianity, by consigning the unhappy Monarch to perdition, and extirpating his family from the face of the earth.

Schall, therefore, went over to the brigand that for thirty days held possession of Peking, set forth his qualifications and those of his brethren, offered their humblest services, and announced that, at length, the corrected Calendar, for China, was ready to be published. The name of the last Emperor, he said, was duly blotted out, and he offered to insert the name of the new one in its place, and, moreover, to fix a day for his coronation. The thief had not raised his thoughts to the height of a coronation, and therefore did not venture to accept a day. His horde were eating Peking empty, and would soon have to migrate, like a swarm of locusts, in search of new pasture ; and therefore, not to encounter fate by the selection of a day, without hope of luck, it pleased him to accept so much of the overture only as related to his name ; and the Jesuits were quite ready to proclaim him Emperor, so far as their Calendar could do it. But as when

the mariner, after a storm, rolls uneasily upon the sluggish waves, while the broad canvass flaps upon the mast, and there is not air enough to steady it; so Father Adam, anxious and impatient, courted the winds in vain, and, in the breathless interregnum that then was, had to bide his time, until a real Monarch should ascend the throne.

China might now choose between the rebels and the Tartars. The former, only capable of rapine, gave proof of their unfitness to supersede a regular government; and the latter had alternated with Chinese dynasties in past ages. Conscious of their hatefulness, the thieves dispersed, and a Tartar camp sat down before Peking; but committed no hostility, and, after four days, peaceably asked admission. The inhabitants no sooner heard the message from their King, than they raised a cry of welcome:—"Long live the King! Long live the King! May he live a thousand and a thousand thousand years!" The gates flew open, Shun-che the Tartar, at the head of myriads, marched in triumphantly, but without so much as unsheathing a sword or launching an arrow, and a Tartar Senate assembled in the Sacred City.

Father Adam, disrobed, and clad as a common man, pressed in among the crowd that filled one of the courts, and knelt down upon the ground, together with a promiscuous multitude of suppliant. A member of the Senate came out and drove away nearly all the throng; but seeing a

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stately person with European features, and the rare distinction of a flowing beard, beckoned him forward pleasantly, and bade him stay and present a petition that he carried in his hand. The well-pencilled roll set forth that he was a European, had resided in Peking for many years, taught the law of God to the people, and erected a temple in his house, wherein was an image, with books and all things necessary for worship. He asked for time sufficient to remove these things with care, if he must leave the place; and estimated the labour of removal as enough to occupy three days. But then he mentioned that the deceased Emperor had employed him to correct the Calendar, and to improve the astronomy of China. In prosecution of that labour he had made a large collection of tablets engraven with rules and computations of great importance, and it would be absolutely impossible to remove that treasure without irreparable damage and loss to the empire. And therefore he begged permission to remain, and continue to labour for the common good. From the Tartars, newly come, he, a new comer also, craved indulgence.

The Senator opened this petition, glanced down the page, here and there lingering on a sentence, and in a moment began to question the petitioner. What did he mean by the word employed to designate his place of worship?—It was a place where they paid reverence to God, the Creator of all things. Why did he not use

the common word for such a place?—Because it was necessary to distinguish it from the buildings erected for other forms of worship. Then he asked about the Calendar ; inquired whether he had occupied a place in the Board of Mathematics, and received a salary on that account. He replied, that he belonged, indeed, to that Board, but was not a calculator, but Master of the calculators. Much pleased with having found a European so well-qualified to serve his master, the Senator bade him rise, and, after many civilities, requested him to come again the next day. He left the palace with a light heart, and returned punctually.

In answer to the petition, Shun-che gave him licence to live in Peking, and caused a board to be placed over his door to inform the public that the dwelling was inviolable. Some property that the rebels had seized was restored to him for the Fathers, the building over Ricci's tomb, without the city, no longer occupied by soldiers or thieves, came again into their possession, and he was re-appointed to take rank over the Board of Mathematics. The old Chinese astronomers also made an effort to regain their station ; but the Tartars told them that their Almanack was said to be full of errors, and that they must bring Tam-yo-vam—this is now the name of Adam Schall—in order to confront the systems. There was no possibility of contradiction, therefore they came with him as commanded ; and,

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when questioned, acknowledged that they did not understand the European method. The Senate therefore commissioned him alone to prepare the Almanack for the next year. He did this and more, by preparing also a written exposition of seven fundamental errors in Chinese astronomy, which errors he exaggerated with all the force of language. And, strange to tell, the Chinese were beaten into a confession, that the Almanack of Tam-yo-vam was really better than their own ; and, much to their mortification, were compelled to sign their names to the confession. Thenceforth there could be no more dispute between them.

For the 1st day of September, 1644, an eclipse of the sun was predicted ; and Tam-yo-vam not only foretold the moment of its appearance at the first meridian, but in various parts of the empire, with a precision that amazed the Emperor, who resolved to bring the native astronomers into direct competition with the foreigner, and also to include the Arabians, of whom some were at court, in the trial. The Confucians, the Mussulmans, and the Jesuits, produced their computations, each according to his respective system, and left them in keeping of Shun-che. On the critical day Tam-yo-vam went to the observatory, accompanied with a Prince of the Senate, on part of the Emperor, and with some astronomers. The time had been carefully observed, and their telescopes pointed towards

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the solar disc. The Board of Ceremonies met as was usual, when in anticipation of so awful an event, and waited on their knees, to succour the sun, at least by reverential sympathy, in the moments of obscuration. Some astronomers attended there also, to give the ceremony full solemnity. And in the palace, the Supreme Senate waited with some Jesuits, who lectured on eclipses after the European manner. In times past, there had been probability that the darkening might begin hours before the moment foretold, and equal apprehension that the mathematicians might have to bemoan its delay for hours upon their aching knees. But now the Europeans were so confident, that they looked on their watches, rather than at the sky ; and, just at the instant marked, a slight depression of the lid of day attested European accuracy. A thrill of admiration ran through the Sacred City ; and even under the fainting light superstition forgot its fear, and bursts of applause resounded in the Senate, the Board, and the Observatory. Arabs yielded the praise, and Chinamen dissembled their confusion, while Father Adam heard himself extolled as one that could solve the secrets of the skies. A clever pupil of his calmly traced the several stages of the eclipse, as he saw it on the field of his telescope, noting the moments ; and of this novel drawing, copies were struck off, and sent all over China, with intelligence, that on the 1st of September, 1644,

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the Chinese had missed half an hour in their calculation of that eclipse, the Arabs had been one hour astray, but the Europeans not one minute. The Jesuits abandoned themselves to immeasurable exultation. The Emperor commanded their method to be used, to the exclusion of all others; and appointed Tam-yo-vam over all astronomers, with power to form a new Board, selecting for it whom he would.

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The young Tartar, Shun-che, wayward and impetuous, paid no regard to the wishes of the Chinese, and showed little deference to those of his Ministers. He therefore elevated the Jesuit favourite at all hazards.

Tam-yo-vam began the year 1645 by publishing his Almanack; an act which aggravated the displeasure of the imperial astronomers, although the work itself was well enough calculated to disarm prejudice throughout the empire. It contained presages of weather, fair and foul, with directions for agricultural operations. It specified the days and hours proper for going out of doors, without encountering bad luck; one day it marked as proper for a journey, another for a law-suit; one day for marriage, another for doing sacrifice to idols or to ancestors. It was headed: "New Rules of a Calendar, or Almanack, according to the Astrology of Europe, by the Master Tam-yo-vam, the Empe-

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ror's Astrologer." The hands of every Mandarin and literary person handled it, and every one accepted it as a more certain rule for the regulation of his conduct than had ever before been published, because drawn up according to a more perfect system of astrology. Scandalized by this open adoption of idolatry, the Dominicans and Franciscans renewed their outcry against the Jesuits, who endeavoured to shelter themselves under the plea that Schall and his brethren had nothing to do with the insertion of idolatrous directions and heathen presages: but, although another hand may possibly have supplied those parts of the Almanack, it is certain that the Jesuit adopted them without the least reserve; and we shall soon find evidence to show, that in doing so he must have thought himself meritoriously wise.

An eclipse of the moon was to take place on the 10th of February of this year, and the Emperor commanded it to be announced according to the European calculation. The Senate complied, so far as to make the announcement; but they did not head the proclamation with the name and new style of Tam-yo-vam, as "President of the Mathematicians." Shun-che would not suffer the proclamation to be issued without the President's title, and the Jesuits had the joy of seeing their companion's dignity thus blazoned.

With the uniform humility of the Company,
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he had seen it proper to shrink from the title. His modesty seemed overwhelmed at the thought of being greeted in the market-place, and wearing the robe and badges of office. He blushed when in sure prospect of entering into the imperial presence at times appointed, and protested that his heart sank within him while reflecting that, if compelled to live the life of a courtier, he would not be able to labour any more to save souls. Those thoughts were said to oppress his pure conscience; and he ventured to represent that, as it was his religious duty to offer a sacrifice to his god every day, and also to say many prayers, he knew not how to perform all. The Emperor was half displeased at the hesitation, for he did not understand that it was a usual formality; but the Provincial of the order quickly set all straight, by empowering Father Adam to accept the dignity. The Emperor also helped him to overcome all scruples, by offering an exemption from certain ceremonial duties, even permitting him to transfer the Board of Mathematics to his own house, and giving him a splendid stipend.

Words cannot express the envy that rankled in the bosoms of the Senators, who charged him with many misdemeanours, and endeavoured to prove that the title had been surreptitiously obtained, and not enrolled in the archives. But nothing could resist the imperial will; all accusations were authoritatively repelled, without a

hearing ; and the Emperor published, under his vermilion pencil, that the chief mathematician, Tam-yo-vam, was a man of unblemished integrity. He further commanded all his adversaries in the Senate to go into his presence, bend their knees, and ask his pardon with humility. They obeyed the mandate. The chief Senator, and the most worthy President of the Board of Rites, knelt down before the Jesuit, and found forgiveness of their offences.

The Board of Mathematicians was then sifted and reformed. Many baptisms followed this triumph ; and, as was invariably said to be the case, an adverse fortune humbled and scattered all his enemies. The Emperor heaped favours on him which it would be tedious to recount ; and it is enough to say, that the favourite spared no pains to minister to the pleasure of his new master, and that he was rewarded with marks of singular and even excessive confidence. The Viceroy in their cities heard of his exaltation, and considered his intercession requisite to the success of their petitions to the Sovereign. Some called him " Son of Ricci ;" but all knew him as Tam-yo-vam. The Jesuits boasted of him. Manuel Diaz, when owned as his companion, obtained exemption from military service. Francesco Ferrari, when just on the point of being flogged and banished for some offence, declared himself a friend of Tam-yo-vam, and found not only indulgence, but honours. Gabriel de Man-

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gilhes, being in a hostile State, was made prisoner of war, and calling for quarter, found it by uttering the name of Tam-yo-vam. The Monarch smiled on every project that issued from his ingenuity or zeal. The palace, burnt by the rebels in 1644, was rebuilt at his instance; and he even dared to propose a suppression of the Bonzes. But his imperial pupil, appalled by the outcry of that powerful body, and of their adherents, withheld assent, and thus avoided the alternative of a rebellion.

The Emperor, Shun-che, knew not how to moderate his attachments or his enmities; and as Father Adam exercised an influence over him little short of fascination, he received, in return, such favours as despots can afford to shower on their favourites. Under the former dynasty, Rho and Schall had received small stipends, barely sufficient for their own subsistence, their households being dependent on the funds of the Propaganda; but the amount was gradually increased, until it became a handsome compensation for their labours as astronomers. Under the Tartar, Father Adam lived in as much ease as if he were in Germany, and in much higher style, from the first. Immediately on the publication of the new Calendar his income was raised; and on taking the presidency of the astronomers, he found himself in receipt of an income larger by two-thirds than that of any other member of the Board, the salary of all the others being equal.

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Besides this, the Emperor constantly honoured him with gifts of silks, embroideries, money, horses, rich robes, and hats and boots to be worn when in full dress.

When the Lama of Thibet came to Peking, to visit the Emperor, it is said that the latter did not pay his visiter the Divine honours usually rendered to that Pope of the East; and that Schall contributed not a little to assist him in resolving to withhold those honours, under the idea that they would have been beneath the dignity of so great a Monarch, and of one, too, whose mere name was heard in the attitude of prostration by his own subjects. But he sent for Schall, as his Maffa, or Father, and bade him bring gifts to be presented to the Lama. Schall came, brought mathematical instruments and books, and even taught the Thibetian divinity how to describe geometrical figures. The Jesuit laid the presents before the Emperor, who handed them over to his visiter, and entertained him with tales of European arts, inventions, and navigation, descanting, with many expressions of respect, on the skill of the first Jesuit known at court, Matthew Ricci. Schall took up these topics, at the Emperor's request, treating them yet more minutely; and after having been permitted to stand and discourse in the presence of the two potentates whom the millions of China and Thibet were accustomed to adore unseen, he returned to the Jesuits' house with a thousand

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pieces of gold in his pocket, which a natural unwillingness to offend the Emperor induced him to accept.

After laying at his feet the Chinese books containing the body of science and the tables necessary for the annual construction of the Almanack already published for the first year, together with a handsomely gilded celestial globe, two gilt sun-dials, a telescope, a map of the world, and a map of China, he received another donation of a thousand pieces of gold, and a suit of robes. He appeared therein attired, and made nine prostrations. According to a Chinese custom of honouring the dead, land is sometimes given to the living for their future burial-places. Father Adam was encouraged to ask for a burial-place for himself near that of Ricci, to whom such a gift had been made by the Emperor Wan-lëih. Shun-che instantly compelled the owner of the ground to sell a large piece, which the Jesuit took possession of on the same day; and the two burial-places, united into one estate, yielded revenue sufficient for the maintenance of four members of the Society at Peking. What gifts came from candidates for the Father's interest at court, none can say; but they could not have been insignificant. All this prepared the way for a yet higher mark of complacency towards the European.

One morning, when our Jesuit went to the palace on business, he met the Emperor coming

out to take a ride with the pomp usual to the "Son of Heaven." After a long and very familiar conversation, Shun-che bade his Maffa express, with entire confidence and freedom, any desire that he might chance to entertain. With decent hesitation, he assured His Majesty, that he valued his imperial favour far beyond gold, or all the possessions that could be possibly enjoyed. With these interchanges of good words the cavalcade moved on, the Emperor being seated in his car, and the Jesuit following in the train, when the whole pageant halted, and His Majesty sent two nobles to urge him to say at once what he would have, whether gifts, or dignities, or vengeance on his enemies, promising to give him all or more. None of those things would have been unwelcome; and, as he durst not venture on too explicit professions of disinterestedness, he replied by commending himself and his labours in correcting the Calendar to the consideration of His Majesty, in such terms as to intimate willingness to be a Mandarin of the first class.

Without delay the Emperor had a diploma richly engrossed in letters of gold, and presented it for approbation to the Senate. It was not such a document as would please the Chinese; for it contained a long statement of the inferiority of such and such great men, men most revered in the history of the empire,—to this prodigy of wisdom from the western world.

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After the preamble, the document proceeded thus :—"If I should compare thee with Lô-hiô, Hâm, and the others above mentioned, thou wouldest be seen to excel them far. Wherefore it is my pleasure to adorn thee with the new title of 'Master of Heavenly Secrets,' that for the sake of that virtue wherewith Heaven hath enriched thee, and enabled thee to supply the defects of the Calendar, I may exalt thee above others, and transmit the fame of thy learning to all posterity." His Majesty displayed extreme solicitude to consummate this deed of honour, and even delayed an equestrian excursion in order to append the sign-manual, and see that the patent was delivered to his favourite. He further commanded all the Boards of Government to give the new "Master of Heavenly Secrets" whatever he should ask of them, and never to thwart him, even in the slightest matter.

The Provincial had exempted him from the vow of poverty when he assumed the presidency of the Board of Astronomers, and now the sordid garments of St. Ignatius and St. Francis were strangely changed into robes of state ; and Xavier with his bell, as in the streets of Goa, could he have appeared in Peking, would have been beneath the notice of John Adam Schall. Henceforth, our "Master of Heavenly Secrets" never went out of doors but in an open chair of ivory and gold, carried on the shoulders

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of men, and followed by a train of servants. Two footmen walked before him, bearing long rods, to clear the way, proclaiming his approach. Two others followed, carrying silver tablets on tall staves, showing his title and rank in very large characters, and demanding the honours correspondent. After these marched four servants with whips, and others with chains, and other instruments of punishment. One or two silken canopies were carried in advance, to shade his head if it should please him to alight ; and a stout man walked beside him, carrying a huge fan, to protect him from the smiting of a sun-beam. Another carried the imperial seal in a golden box ; and pages brought up the rear, some on horseback and some on foot. As he approached, every unsightly object was removed out of sight, and every obstruction cleared out of the way. Persons on horseback dismounted, and those in carriages drew up, until he had passed by. Foot-passengers stood still, and every voice was hushed. The Master himself sat with severe and immovable dignity, as if petrified, like the statue of some god upon its pedestal, not condescending to fix his eye on any person or on any thing.

Nothing was omitted that could give completeness to his exaltation. Although his father and mother were not likely to be alive, and his grandfather and grandmother were certainly dead, the fountain of Chinese honour had

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already sent them its overflowings. Praises and privileges had been awarded to them in due form, when Schall was, as yet, but a Mandarin of the third order. The Emperor had congratulated his father Henry on having such a son, in these terms :—"When I think of the ability of your son, who has been useful to you, as well as to me, and that has brought you so great reputation, I praise you for him, and I admire your piety, which induces me to confer on you the title of 'A Man of rare Piety,' with the office of Ta-cham-soo, which I send you in this packet." The mother, Mary Schaiffast, in honour of having given birth to such a son, was to be called "A Matron of illustrious Holiness." On the grandfather, John Schall, was conferred the title of "President of the Board of Mathematics, and Mandarin of the third order." To the grandmother, Wolfia, was transmitted the title of "A Matron of rare Virtue." And the Emperor addressed these good folk in such terms as the following :—"We esteem your virtue very highly, and this we say to testify to you that we consider the honour paid to you not at all excessive. For we should like to have a suitable place where we might always honour you according to your merits with the sacrifice of incense."

When their descendant rose to the highest degree of the Mandarinate, their dignity was also raised; and imperial praises were put on

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record for his progenitors of two generations further back. The Jesuit, however, satisfied himself with having sent the first patents into Germany, where they must have excited vast admiration; but said that he thought it unnecessary to despatch the others. And we may participate in the same wonder, admiring the ease with which the Pagan could offer incense to barbarian dead, and the facility with which the Jesuit, no less Pagan, could shed perfume before the tablets of Chinese departed.

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Under the preceding Monarch Schall could only send his religion into the palace by the medium of musical instruments, images, and pictures; and could only govern the proselytes there by means of his delegate Vam. But under the Tartar he held direct communication, and made the best of his opportunities. So much more effectual was his teaching after being made President of the Astronomers, that many persons made up their minds to be baptized. Shun-che, accustomed to pay deference to his wishes, permitted the Jesuits to preach freely wherever he had power: and the last member of the expiring dynasty of Ming, still holding his court in the south, also favoured the Fathers; the Empress was baptized; and he sent an envoy to the Pope, doubtless hoping to strengthen his cause by a Portuguese alliance. This, however, came to

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nothing: he was killed in battle, and the hopes of the Society still rested on Peking.

There, in the year 1650, Tam-yo-vam laid the foundation-stone of a new temple, after having occupied from the beginning a domestic chapel, waiting until means could be found for erecting an edifice in a style commensurate with his position in relation to the court. During the progress of this building his prospect suddenly enlarged.

The Emperor, and nearly all the nobles, were away in the country on one of their grand military hunts; and the Jesuit was pursuing his affairs assiduously at home, when three females came into the house, represented themselves as belonging to the family of a certain well-known grandee, and sent by their mistress to inquire of him concerning the state of her sick daughter. The young lady had been sick for some days; and her mother, having no confidence in the native doctors, had sent to consult the European. By this it would seem that he added a smattering in medicine to other accomplishments. Not confining himself to ordinary prescriptions, he gave the messengers an *Agnus Dei*, a "sacred amulet" made of wax, directed them to apply it to the patient, be of good courage, and expect her to recover. She did recover; and in a few days one of the women comes back with an offering of two hundred pieces of gold, and seven or eight

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pieces of richly-embroidered silks, as a present in acknowledgment of his service to the young lady. She says that this munificence is in honour of the God he worships; and that the giver is none other than the Emperor's mother, who had remained in the palace with a few attendants, and the young lady no less a personage than the Empress elect, now betrothed to Shun-che, and waiting the expiration of the time appointed for the marriage. She thought herself indebted to Tam-yo-vam for the recovery of health, and desired him to know that, for the time to come, she should regard him as her father; trusted that, in reciprocation of her attachment, he would address her as his daughter; and assured him that whatever it pleased him to ask of her, he should have. Another hundred pieces of gold, to buy wax for the altar, accompanied this message.

Here was the betrothed Empress almost a convert. The sudden gush of good fortune overwhelmed his imagination, and the acquisition of such a prize looked more like a dream than a reality. No forms of courtesy, nor any words of gratitude, were omitted that might confirm the esteem of the imperial matron and her daughter; and he ventured to suggest to the former, that the highest favour possible to be conferred on the man who possessed such life-renewing treasures as that which had just brought restoration to her august charge, would

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be a withdrawal of protection from the Bonzes, whom she favoured with her utmost influence, lest it should seem that the mother and mistress of the Chinese empire encouraged their excesses. This request was of no effect, she still supported the Bonzes; but the same Lady of Honour became an exceedingly frequent visiter of Father Adam, and brought him presents of great value. In due time the marriage took place; the Jesuit was invited to the feast; and next day, his former patient being now partner of the throne, she sent him a pair of gold bracelets from her own arms, praying "her father" to wear them upon his. He knelt, and put them on. The Maid of Honour then delivered her message: "Her Majesty addresses you by no other name than father: she will be grieved if you do not consider her as your daughter, rather than your Empress." In return for these and other costly gifts, he sent back no more than two waxen amulets, one for the Empress, and another for her mother, directing that they might be worn under her dress, so as not to offend unchristian eyes; but his daughter wore hers visibly, outside the imperial robes, as if proud of exhibiting a charm so potent. And *Agnus Deis* came into such repute at court, that men of war begged for them, to be their safeguard when going out on hostile expeditions.

Schall, with two of the highest officers of state, were—of all others they alone—excused

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by the Emperor from performing prostrations in his presence. It was then that, elated with favours almost unparalleled, he resolved to build a triumphal arch of white marble before his temple, to the honour of "God and the mother of God." The Queen-mother, declaring that she wished for some merit with the God of the Christians, gave him a large sum of money towards the erection; and when the temple was finished, she sent oblations.

According to Kircher, who says that there was a copy to be seen at Rome, the Emperor issued an edict in the Chinese and Tartar languages, that was engraved on marble, and put up in the new church at Peking, called "Church of our Saviour." The inscription begins with a commendation of the heavenly science of astronomy, now restored after the decay of many ages. John Adam Schall, says this marble, a man who came to China from the remotest west, was found to be learned in the theory, and skilled in the practice, of astronomy in all its parts. His history is then recited, and the dignities bestowed on him are enumerated; and after this comes an imperial anecdote, delivered in such words as these: "And when I entered into that temple, and observed that the images and utensils also had the appearance of being imported from abroad, and that certain books were laid upon the table, I asked what the books contained. Then the aforesaid John Adam

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Schall told me that they contained an explanation of the Divine law. For my own part, I had sometimes read with attention the doctrine of Yao-shun-choo and Cum-soo, had learnt something from their books, and although I had read some of the books of Foe and Tau, I retained little of their contents in my memory. And as for these books of the Divine law, I have as yet been too much taken up with the affairs of my kingdom to do more than give them a passing glance, and have not seen enough of them to give an exact judgment of this law. But when I consider John Adam, who has been many years in China, and is well known to me, and observes and preaches this law, I think it must be very good." The Emperor is then made to pronounce a flowing eulogy on this living exemplification of the foreign religion, and to exclaim:—"O that all my magistrates and subjects would imitate his diligence in serving God, and observing the Divine law; and would even follow him, if it were but at a distance, in promoting the service of their Emperor. Then, without doubt, it would be better for me and for all the kingdom. But, so far as it pertains to me to do so, I earnestly approve and praise him, his talent, and this law which he follows, and therefore prefix this title to this church,—*Excellent place for penetrating heaven.*" And in a flourishing inscription on the outside of the building, Schall endeavoured to

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perpetuate his fabulous history of Christianity in China. This inscription reads thus:—

“After the Faith first brought by St. Thomas the Apostle, and after the same again and more widely propagated by the Syrians in the time of the empire of Tam; again the third time published under the empire of Ming by men of the Society of Jesus, under the leaders St. Francis Xavier and Father Matthew Ricci, both by word, and by books put forth in Chinese with great study and labour, but, through the inconstancy of the people, not with equal profit. The empire being now restored to the Tartars, the said Society, for a finish to their labours in correcting the Calendar of Chwang-lě,* at Peking, the court of the Kings of China, this temple to God Almighty publicly

ERECTED AND DEDICATED,

IN THE YEAR MDCL. OF SHUN-CHE VII.

Father John Adam Schall von Zell, a German, Professed of the Society of Jesus, and author of the aforesaid Calendar, from the labour of his hands bequeaths this building, and patience, to posterity.”†

This edifice bespoke the admiration of the multitude, who crowded into it, and admired the ceremonies; but the Emperor was to be approached by other ways. He worshipped the host of heaven with profound devotion;

* The name given to Tsung-ching after his death.

† Kircher, *China Illustrata*, p. 105.

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and his favourite saw fit to minister with all possible assiduity to that devotion. The Royal Mathematicians, all under the authority of Tam-yo-vam, calculated events by the stars; and gave all their ingenuity to the construction of lying oracles that might bear some semblance of truth, by help of that ambiguity which clings to either side of a dilemma. All these were laid before the Jesuit and his board for final revision; and he acknowledged, if indeed he did not boast, that "at the first he thought it proper to concede much to custom, and readily used a pious art in approving many astrological decisions that were not quite worthy of approbation, in hope of thereby advancing the tenets of heaven and of virtue." * The Emperor had to give his confirmation to their acts; and, considering his youth, and in order to preserve him from blushing over any mistake publicly detected, our Jesuit taught him divinations, *clam et paternè*, "in secret and with the kindness of a father." With all this he intermingled lessons of government, prepared him to discourse before the Senate, and, when it became necessary, to correct the errors consequent on his impetuosity and impatience: the corrections were delicately conveyed in the forms and under the

* Multa initio consuetudine dare oportuit: pleraque deinde non ita comprobandis judiciis astrorum; ut promovendis cœli ac virtutis documentis admovere piâ arte placuit. (Historica Relatio, p. 160.)

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sanctions of the Chinese astrology, so far as that could be done.

"How is it, Maffa," Shun-che once asked him, "that so many of my Governors and Mandarins do their duty so negligently, although I show them great indulgence, and never give them any trouble?" "I suppose, Sire," was his answer, "because they all adapt themselves to the example you set them, when they see you pass over matters very easily, and take no great care of the empire." This was rather too honest to be welcome; but, after a blush of displeasure, the young Monarch regained his equanimity, and felt, more than ever, the influence of his tutor. So deeply did he feel this, and so little prudence did he possess, that he did not scruple to tell his native counsellors that his Maffa was worth all of them put together.

The domestic habits of Adam Schall were no less heathenish than his public conduct. Fray Antonio de Santa Maria stated, that in the year 1653, on occasion of a visit to Peking, he lodged in Schall's house, according to the general custom of the "religious," who entertain each other. One day there was to be a funeral of a rich Tartar; and the lay-brother who accompanied Fray Antonio, in the capacity of servant, was surprised to see a table carried into the street, and covered with a variety of cooked meats. Father Adam, he was told, had directed those meats to be placed there, according to a

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custom of the country,—that where a funeral passed, the former friends of the deceased set tables at their doors, with food for the soul of the dead, which drew nourishment therefrom to get strength for the long journey into another world. The brother told Fray Antonio, who, startled at this excessive compliance, expressed himself in terms of strong disapprobation, which were again repeated, to the annoyance of his host, after his departure, and drew forth a torrent of wrath, that had not ceased to flow when the Franciscan met him again twelve months afterwards.*

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At length, after pandering to the grossest superstition of Shun-che for twelve years, the Missioner applied himself to his conversion. But how far the word “conversion” should be used in this case, the reader may judge when he has perused the following account of that extraordinary piece of Missionary operation, as it is described by the Jesuits, who, on return from China, compiled their history from his letters, aided by their own recollections and experience.† I insert not a sentence of my own. They relate as follows :—

“In the year 1656 the Emperor himself afforded Father Adam an opportunity of intro-

* *Morale Pratique*, tom. vii., p. 114.

† *Historica Relatio*, p. 199, *et seq.*

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ducing the subject for which he had been so long preparing the way. He desired him to attend him in the imperial forest, there to converse at leisure concerning some matters of importance. There, while the Emperor was hunting, and the Father awaited his return, some of the courtiers, conjecturing subjects on which His Majesty might wish advice, were suggesting what good counsel he should offer. About night-fall the Emperor came back to supper, and, this despatched, the Father met him in an open court. Schall began the conversation by talking about the stars, from whose conjunctions he had found something to be portended, and which was contained in a paper that he brought with him, ready written, for presentation to the Emperor, in fulfilment of his official duty. His Majesty took the paper, saying that he wished to look at it; and bade Schall draw near, and give an explanation of some things that were not very easy to be understood. Then, pausing for a moment, after reading some way through it, as if revolving a difficulty in his mind, he stated a question.

"*Emperor.* 'If the course of the stars can be certainly foreknown, it follows that it is *necessary*; and, therefore, if the stars foretell evil, that evil is *inevitable*: it is therefore useless to endeavour to provide a remedy for the evil which it is already determined must come to pass.'

"*Jesuit.* 'God is the Creator of the stars,

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and of all the universe. From eternity He foreknew the order and effect of everything by Himself created, as well as the time and manner wherein all things are to produce what their powers contain. And thence He ordered all things after such a sort, that, in their own time, men might be able to do as they would ; and He admonishes them, being free as to their actions, always to do their duty. Especially He so admonishes Kings, under whose dominion others live. The course of the stars, therefore, although it seems necessary, in respect to us, in respect to God is ordered freely to that very end. Therefore, Kings ought to bear in mind that their thanks are due to God, who guides them by means of the stars, and by them, also, recalls them from the paths of error.'

"*E.* 'And who is this God?'

"*J.* 'An invisible Being ; but One who, by His omnipotence, created all things, visible and invisible. He is by no means like an idol, that we can see, or like the heavens that we can see, but absolute Lord of all, everywhere present, and knowing everything. The Christians give Him a name, taken from the greatest of all visible creatures, and call Him LORD OF HEAVEN, and also CREATOR.'

"*E.* 'Very well ; but why should we, more than other Kings, fear evil threatened by the stars?'

"*J.* 'Because, among the Monarchs of the

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world, Your Majesty is undoubtedly the chief; and therefore you have your title, SON OF HEAVEN; and the people under your dominion more numerous than they of any other region. On this account God lays upon the stars a greater charge to care for you; and Himself cares more to instruct you than any others, although He does not abandon them, nor pass them by.'

"E. 'If I were to correct my errors, would that suffice to avert calamities?'

"J. 'The motions of the heavens, and the aspects of the stars, will go on just as they ever have; but nothing is to be feared from them, for the Europeans have a proverb: *The wise man shall be ruled by the stars.*' (*Sapiens dominabitur astris.*)

"E. 'But I beseech you, Maffa, tell me by what means I may be delivered from my faults.'

"J. 'If Your Majesty has, at any time, exceeded in severity of justice, you should mitigate that severity. If, inclining towards your people with paternal care, you consult the happiness of all; if you attach to yourself those who wait near your person, by showing them greater kindness and liberality; in a word, if you love God above all things, and show the pity to others that, in the like case, you would wish to be shown to yourself, according to the sentence, *Thou shalt do unto others, as thou*

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wouldst have others to do unto thee ; all will be safe.'

"E. 'All this I cannot understand.'

"Then the Father began to set forth to the Emperor the precepts of God, and to insist especially on those which relate to the person and the office of a Sovereign, after the tenor following :—

"That Your Majesty may better understand, I will briefly explain the statutes of the Divine law that we Christians observe. The *First* is, To love one God above all things. There cannot be more gods than one. For if we say that there are many gods, and they equal to one another, none of them will be God, because none of them will be chief ; inasmuch as it is peculiar to God to be above all that is not Himself. If, besides one greatest, there are others lesser, that one will be the best and greatest, excelling them that are inferior ; and thus they will be gods that have no power without the greatest. The *Second* precept which Christian virtue observes is Truth, that hates lies, and commands men to converse truly with one another. It requires their answers to be yea, yea ; nay, nay. And what can be more necessary to Kings, than that they should keep faith, as they desire all to be faithful to them ? The *Third* commands us to be thankful to God for the innumerable benefits that we receive from Him ; and therefore Christians, as they cannot show this in any other way,

meet together on certain festive days, that they may render thanks to God. The *Fourth* commands to honour, maintain, and obey our parents, so long as they command nothing contrary to God; which all nations acknowledge to be of natural obligation. The *Fifth* forbids to hurt the body of one's neighbour, in any way, except by permission of those who have right over his life. Therefore, the power of Kings is not without limit, nor ought they without reason, and mature counsel, to take away the lives of their subjects, as if everything were lawful to themselves. The *Sixth* commends" (not commands) "chastity; and that they who are joined in marriage should be faithful to each other, and not violate the marriage-right, nor one put away the other. But if one departs, then the other is allowed to marry again. The *Seventh* forbids all usurpation of the property of others, by whatever means it might be done. It also forbids Kings to impose taxes and burdens on their subjects without necessity. The *Eighth* provides for the honour of one's neighbour, that no one may injure the reputation of another, and commands not only respect towards superiors and equals, but also towards inferiors. The *Ninth* and *Tenth*, besides all these things, require that the heart be kept pure from all concupiscence and cupidity, seeing that all we do issues from the heart.

"While the Father was relating all this in
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order, and more copiously expounding what related to the imperial person, the Emperor paid most profound attention, not interrupting by a single word ; but, after he had ceased, asked if he had many followers of his doctrine, and what sort of persons they were. He answered that he had not a very large number ; but that, of those he had, many observed the Divine law very heartily ; and that if some were seen to be deficient, *that arose from the circumstance that in these lands there was no coercive power to compel delinquents to their duty. In Europe,* he said, *the human magistrate assisted the Divine magistrate, that those laws might be observed more fully.*

“Shun-che asked, again, whether Kings were bounden to observe the precepts. To this the answer was, that they are bounden even more than others, for the sake of that example of virtue which it becomes them to show their subjects.

“*E.* ‘And am I also bounden, who am not yet a Christian?’

“*J.* ‘Those precepts are not given to Christians only, but to all mankind, with promise of eternal glory, in reward of their observance, and under threat of eternal punishment to those who treat them with contempt.’

“*E.* ‘And by what power can we render them obedience?’

“*J.* ‘Nothing is difficult to him that is willing, Divine grace assisting.’

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“*E.* ‘Then I am willing; for I quite agree with them, and think I should be able to keep them.’”

The conversation then turned on other matters; and Shun-che asked the Father what sort of a man the last Emperor was, and on what account he came to lose the kingdom. Schall thought this last question rather presumptuous, and therefore observed, that the late Emperor excelled most others in disposition, was most chaste, and a lover of his people; but that he was too self-confident, more tenacious of his own purposes than was prudent in those times; therefore neither the magistrates nor the soldiers were loyal to him, and consequently he lost both his kingdom and his life. He also intimated that Tsung-ching, too, had approved the law of God, and might not have refused to follow it, if unexpected events had not prevented.

Nothing but a deeply-rooted assurance that this way of teaching something different from Christianity in China, was meritorious, could have emboldened the Jesuits to publish such an account as this in Europe; but we cannot wonder at their unconsciousness of the effect that it was likely to produce, when we hear them applauded by persons who might have been reasonably expected to regard such proceedings with detestation. Franciscans and Dominicans held them up to the view of scandalized Christendom. The secular Clergy made them the

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occasion of censure, and joined in asking the Pope to interpose his authority and recall the Jesuits to their duty. The Jansenists made use of these disclosures to discredit them; and M. Arnauld placed the conduct of Ricci, Schall, and their brethren to that catalogue of delinquencies which he published under the title of "Practical Morality of the Jesuits." But Leibnitz, a latitudinarian Lutheran, and indifferent to the essential verities of Christianity, so nobly defended by Luther, whose name he bore, ranked himself with the apologists. "I know," said he, "that Antoine Arnauld, a man who is worthy to be counted among the ornaments of our age, and was once a friend of mine, being excited by zeal against them, has held up to reprobation some proceedings of their Missionaries, but, as I think, with greater vehemence than justice; for after the example of" (St.) "Paul we ought to become all things to all men, and, for my own part, I cannot see that the honours rendered to Confucius partook of the character of religious adoration." * Whether the veneration of ancestors was religious, and the honour paid to idols idolatrous, and the worship of spirits and the practice of astrology violations of the law of God, the facts recounted on these pages may enable any one to judge; but whether the Jesuits acted contrary to the spirit of their

* *Novissima Sinica, Historiam nostri temporis illustratura, &c.* Edente G. G. L(eibnitz), Anno 1699.

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Church, or did not rather exemplify that spirit, must also be determined by authenticated facts. These facts it is now necessary to exhibit, which I proceed to do, after noting that the imprudent garrulity of my authorities in their book printed in 1672, drew forth, on April 6th, 1673, a Brief of Clement X., sternly prohibiting the publication of anything concerning Missioners or Missions, by any persons whatsoever, without permission of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, previously obtained.

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Pursuing their vocation as Preachers and Propagandists, some Dominicans and Franciscans landed in China in the year 1633. They were not welcomed by the Jesuits, who thought themselves entitled to the sole occupancy of that country. Neither did those disciples of Ignatius wish to be overlooked; and the less so as they were acting in direct opposition to their own conclusions in the conference of Kia-ting, some years before. The strong family-spirit of monasticism, which makes the regular Clerk always jealous of every order but his own, kindled into enmity when the Monks and the Jesuits met each other in a territory which the latter claimed exclusively for missionary operations. And the overt acts of *strange worship*—we need here a more comprehensive term than idolatry—gave the new comers an advantage to the detriment of the

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Jesuits. As soon as both parties had come to a position of evident, if not declared, hostility, the Monks wrote to Don Hernando Guerrero, Archbishop of Manila, where they had resided before coming to China, and to the Bishop of Zebu, also an island of the Philippines. These ecclesiastics, considering that the dogma and worship of their Church were both set aside in concession to Paganism, communicated the facts to Rome. This correspondence took place between the years 1633 and 1637; but neither did the Propaganda interfere with the doings of their Missioners, nor did the Inquisitors concern themselves to maintain the faith. The Court of Rome heard of some kind of progress in China, and was content.

The Jesuits could hardly be uninformed of the Roman correspondence; but that gave them little or no concern; and if any one of their number had entertained a scruple as to the innocence of his participation in heathen practices, that scruple no longer troubled him. Thus Father Lobo wrote, in October, 1635, that on his first coming to China, he had seen many things that surprised him, and seemed contrary to reason and the Gospel; but that afterwards, and as time went on, he became accustomed to those formalities and to the distinctions which, if well understood, made everything plain.*

For some prudential reasons, the Archbishop

* *Morale Pratique*, vi. 37; vii. 5; ii. 40; iii. 398.

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of Manila did not accede to the request of the Monks for the convocation of a Synod to examine the affair; but sent home an appeal containing "fifteen doubts" for solution by the Roman authorities. Those doubts lay for eight years in the bosoms of the Inquisitors without any known solution. Nestorianism engaged their utmost subtlety, and they laboured to subdue that reputed heresy with dungeons and racks; but Paganism, mingled though it was with their peculiar orthodoxy, gave them no concern. They were silent, and the Chinese Missioners pursued their course without rebuke. In the beginning of 1638 the Dominicans and Franciscans, expelled from China by the management of the Jesuits, who had told the Mandarins that they were dishonouring Confucius and condemning the souls of their ancestors, took refuge in Manila, and renewed their complaints to Rome. The Archbishop and other Prelates then wrote another letter to the Pope; but His Holiness made no deliverance.* Roboredo, Superior of the Jesuits in Manila, wrote in justification of his brethren, and published his work in December of the same year; and the dispute between the kindred forms of worship in Peking and Rome assumed the character of an open question.† Antônio de Santa María wrote an answer to the book of Roboredo forthwith; and the whole controversy came before Christendom in form, in the

* *Morale Pratique*, iii., 400; vi., 37. † *Ibid.*, iii., 348.

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course of 1639 ; but still the supreme oracle at Rome gave no utterance.*

Anxious to bring their suit to a hearing, the Monks deputed Juan Bautista de Morales, and Antonio de Santa María, to go home and solicit an audience with the Pope. Morales was prevented ; but Santa María undertook the mission, and reached Rome in 1643. His own words will show that nothing had yet been done :—

“I learned that a religious of my order had already brought an authentic copy of the propositions that the Jesuits teach their Christians in China, and that they had been presented to Pope Urban VIII. by the Secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda. His Holiness had said, on reading them, ‘Things of this kind cannot be taught, practised, or permitted on any account.’ And the said Secretary had the kindness to give me this in writing.

“Some time after, I was admitted to kiss the feet of His Holiness, who, giving me his blessing, asked me whence I came, and what was my business. I told him that I came from the Chinese Mission, and had to lay before His Holiness some ill-sounding propositions : I employed this term that I might speak with moderation in presence of the Pope, and abstain from describing them as they deserved. His Holiness, without waiting for me to say anything more, drew himself up erect ; and, although

* *Morale Pratique*, vi., 63.

his sickness had reduced him to a state of great feebleness, struck the arm of his chair twice, and cried, 'Heresy! Heresy! This affair must be turned over to the Inquisition!'" *

Seventeen doubts, or questions, were accordingly sent from the Propaganda to the Inquisition, and examined by *qualificatores*, who returned them with answers. Those answers were afterwards confirmed by a decree of the Propaganda, dated September 12th, 1645; and the most important were to the effect following:—

6. It is a general custom in China, at certain times of the year, to collect contributions for sacrifices to demons and to idols, and to defray the cost of idolatrous feasts. May Christians and their Ministers contribute money for these uses, in order to avoid tumults between Christians and Pagans?—*Yes*. "The Chinese Christians may contribute money, provided that by contributions of the kind they do not *intend* to consent to idolatrous acts, the cause alleged in the question being understood; and they may do it all the better *if there be an opportunity* of protesting that they pay the money to promote the hilarity of the people, and for indifferent acts, or at least for acts that are not repugnant to Christianity." [So that Jesuitical equivocation is not peculiar to Jesuits only, but belongs also to the Inquisition, the Propaganda, and the Pope, in common.]

* *Morale Pratique*, vi., 152.

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7. In every Chinese town or city, there is a temple erected to Ching-hoang, whom they adore as the protector, lord, and guardian of the place. All the Mandarin-Governors are bound by law to fall prostrate before his image, first, when they take office, and twice every month afterwards, with oblations and sacrifices of candles, perfumes, flowers, flesh, and wine, under peril of dismissal from their post. They swear to Ching-hoang that they will rule well, and if not, be punished by him. Considering the weakness of the people, may Christian Governors pay him the outward acts, carrying a cross to their temple, or hiding it under the flowers on the altar, and, in intention, honour that?—The Inquisitors *think not*. They do not approve of such public acts of worship, not even with a cross in the hand, or on the altar. [But they do not say that it is sinful and forbidden.]

8. The Chinese have a certain ancient master in philosophy and morals, called Kung-foo-tsze (Confucius). He is revered by all ranks, has temples in every city and town. Twice in the year all Governors pay him solemn sacrifice, and twice every month a lesser kind of worship, which is always attended by learned men. A dead sow, a dead she-goat, candles, wine, flowers, and perfumes, are the appointed offerings. Learned men make oblations in his temple on taking their degree, and fall prostrate. And they think that when the learned eat of the meats thus

offered, they increase in wisdom. May Christian Mandarins and literati do the like?—*No*. This ought not under any pretext to be permitted. [Here is a clear answer. Why is not all the preceding sentence so clear?]

9. According to the teaching of Kung-foo-tsze, they have temples everywhere, in which are images or pictures of their parents and ancestors, to whom they pay thanksgiving for benefits, with meat, wine, candles, perfumes, and goats' heads. They fall prostrate, and pray to the spirits of their ancestors, for health, long life, abundant fruits, many children, great prosperity, and deliverance from all adversities. And they pay similar honour, but with inferior solemnity, in their houses and at their graves. May Christians pretend to do the like, by a merely outward compliance?—*Certainly not*. [Very good.]

10. The same question is put in another form, and again answered by a declaration, that such acts ought not to be performed by Christians.

11. The Chinese hang up tablets in honour of their ancestors, having the names of the deceased inscribed, and call these tablets "the seats of souls," believing that the souls come into them. Before them are erected altars, with roses, candles, lamps, and perfumes. Here they fall down, and pray for help in time of need. May Christians add pictures of Christ and saints, and worship *these* without thinking of *those*?—They may not. [Also very good.]

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12. When any person dies, whether Gentile or Christian, it is the universal custom to fit up an altar, with a portrait of the deceased, or a tablet with his name, together with perfumes, flowers, and candles, and the corpse behind. Then people go in and kneel before all this a few times, and bring candles, perfumes, &c., to be used on the altar. May Christians and Ministers of the Gospel do the same, in token of kindness?—*Yes*. If it be a table, not an altar, and if the reverence be civil and polite, not religious. [Here is the distinction acknowledged, that sustained a great scheme of equivocation. And this quite nullifies the force of the four decisions preceding.]

13. When catechumens are to be prepared for baptism, should the Ministers openly declare to them that all the above-mentioned sacrifices are unlawful, even though they know that by such a declaration there would be the risk of deterring them from being baptized, and the danger of exciting persecution, and banishment of the Missioners?—Ministers of the Gospel ought to teach the catechumens that all sacrifices are unlawful, except what are offered to God alone; that they must relinquish the worship of devils and idols, as false, and repugnant to Christian faith. “But particulars are to be entered into, *so far as the aptitude or the ignorance of the catechumens may require, due regard being had to their customs, and to dangers that*

might be incurred." [The latter part of this answer neutralises the former ; and most clearly sanctions, and even inculcates, the suppression of elementary and fundamental truths. It also takes for granted, that the teaching and practice of the Jesuits are ordinarily of such a kind as to leave the Chinese proselytes ignorant of the difference between Christianity and Heathenism. They could not be thus expected to commend themselves to the conscience of the Chinese by the manifestation of the truth, nor to admonish them of the necessity of turning from those vanities to serve the living God. The Propaganda and the Inquisition, therefore, acquiesced in the continuance of such a kind of preaching and of worship as would leave the idolaters in utter ignorance of the sin of idolatry, and give them no sufficient motive for the profession of Christianity. And by acknowledging that a formal prohibition of idolatry to candidates for baptism might provoke their enmity, and endanger the expulsion of the Missioners, and saying that it was therefore to be avoided, they consented to the whole system of dissimulation, and nullified their own decisions to the contrary in some of these answers. The Jansenists ought to have fixed on this ; and, instead of attacking the Jesuits only, they should have attacked the Court of Rome and Popery.]

15. In many of the idol-temples there are tablets with the name of the Emperor, and the

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words, "May the Emperor of China live many thousand years;" and it is the custom of the Chinese "to sacrifice before such tablets twice or thrice in the year, and make genuflexions in sign of honour and reverence." May Ministers of Christ the Lord have such altars and perform similar ceremonies in their churches, "and may they do this before the altar where the Priests of God sacrifice the unspotted oblation?"—If there be no sacrifice, nor any *real* altar, all the rest, being but civil honour, or being capable of passing for such, may be permitted. [Victims might be *offered*, if not sacrificed on the spot; and so long as the Jesuits could reduce the ceremonies in their own apprehension or conscience to the category of civil honour, they might perform them all without compunction.]

16. May Christians pray and offer sacrifice for those dead who departed this life in their unbelief? —Not if indeed (*si verè*) they died in unbelief. [Here is the door set wide open for equivocation. A Jesuit might say, that he had secretly baptized the departed Heathen; or he might conjecture that he had entertained in secret some sort of belief in Christianity, and might possibly have had some desire for baptism, which desire was a *baptismus flaminis*, or "baptism of fire."]

17. "Are we, the Preachers of the Gospel, bound to preach Christ crucified in this kingdom, and to show His most holy image, especially in our churches? The cause of this doubt is, that

the Gentiles are scandalized by such preaching, and by such a sight, and think it the greatest folly." —The Inquisitors "judged that the doctrine of the passion should not, on any account, be deferred until after baptism, but should be communicated before. But as for the actual preaching of Christ crucified, although Ministers of the Gospel are not bound to it in every sermon, but should propose the word of God, and the Divine mysteries *prudently* and *opportunely*, and explain them according to the capacity of the catechumens; yet they are *not bound to abstain* from sermons on the Lord's passion because Gentiles may be scandalized or think it foolishness. They also think that it would be convenient for images of Christ crucified to be had in the churches; and that therefore care should be taken to exhibit them *so far as it can be done seasonably*." [So, then, Preachers of the Gospel in China have the satisfaction of knowing that they are not bound to abstain from preaching Christ crucified; and neither are they commanded to make known the fact that He so died for sinners. The Inquisitors even advised that a crucifix should not be shown, unless that could be done seasonably. And the scandal of the Cross they would not advise to be published openly; but only made known to candidates for baptism, *if* that could be done prudently and opportunely, not otherwise.] *

* Brevia, &c., pars ii., 1, et seq.

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On September 12th, 1645, the Congregation of the Propaganda confirmed the document here described by a very brief decree, consisting only of words of form. No censure was passed on the Jesuits for their past idolatry and suppression of the truth, nor was a word of exhortation given as to future conduct. They were acknowledged as Ministers of the Gospel. This decree was extorted only by the persevering complaints of their adversaries; and, after all, the Court of Rome actually gave them an official document, containing, indeed, some apparently explicit prohibitions, but also containing an equally explicit sanction of equivocation and reserve. The very best result of such an answer could only be the establishment of a double method of teaching, an exoteric and an esoteric, after the old pagan manner, under Pontifical authority.

Three years, or upwards, after this ambiguous decision of the Roman tribunals, their answer came to the hands of those concerned in China. The General of the Jesuits, the Pope, as Prefect of the Inquisition, the Prefect of the Congregation de Propaganda, were all interested in the matter; but the grave charge of idolatry, confirmed by abundant evidence, and made subject of a controversy throughout the Popedom, did not move them. They gave Santa María their decision, such as it was, and left him to make the best of it. Between Spain and China he

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spent more than three years in voyage and travel, and then put the papers into the hands of Aleni, Vice-Propagandist of the Society in the latter country; but it does not seem to have produced the slightest change in their proceedings among the Chinese, and it would be surprising if it had. The only effect was apparent in a mission of one of their number to Rome, six years afterwards, to obtain greater licence.

Martino, one of their cleverest men, appeared on "the threshold of the Apostles," complaining that the Jesuits had not been heard, and asking for a revision of four of the articles in the Inquisitorial judgment. The Inquisitors might have laid hands on him as a perverter of the faith, and burnt him, or buried him in their dungeons; but they received him favourably, lamented that a Dominican could not be found at Rome who had ever been in China, to afford evidence or counsel on the intricate affair. However, they went to work without evidence. Martino easily demolished the credit of Morales, and made it clear to the apprehension of the guardians of the faith, that the Chinese pagodas were mere halls of state, that sacrifices were civil offerings in that part of the world, and that prayers to heathen saints were no more than secular civilities. Overflowing with a charity quite foreign to their office, the Inquisitors released the delegate of Tam-yo-vam from the restraint of the

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decisions which had been contrived, in part, for the gratification of his antagonist, and were, in some passages, capable of being construed to the discomfort of the Company. A Company, so helpful for the conservation of the faith in Europe, was not to be disobliged on account of any variations from the faith in a land where there was no Protestantism to be encountered; and therefore the business was rapidly dispatched, to his entire satisfaction.

The Sacred Congregation, subject to the approval of "the Most Holy," released the Missioners from the obligation of enforcing on the Chinese an exact observance of the precepts of the Church under the usual penalty of mortal sin. They excused them from the use of spittle and salt in baptism, an application which the Chinese regarded with insuperable disgust; and they even permitted them to let Chinese women die without receiving extreme unction, thus paying deference to the delicacy of Chinese men, who regarded the ceremony as an outrageous offence on female modesty. They gave a licence for Chinese Christians, being learned men, to pay reverence to Kung-foo-tsze, in the temples dedicated to that sage, declaring that the solemnities performed in those temples were no more than civilities. And "the Sacred Congregation," having heard a diffuse exposition of reasons, "judged that the converted Chinese might be allowed to render their accustomed

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ceremonies to their dead, even when they had died in Paganism, avoiding, however, what seemed to be superstitious. They might also attend, together with Gentiles, when they performed superstitious ceremonies, especially if a protestation of faith was made beforehand, and if there was no longer any danger of subversion, and when hatred and enmity could not otherwise be avoided." On Thursday, March 23d, 1656, Alexander VII. took his place as Chief Inquisitor, heard a recapitulation of the case, approved of the indulgence of their Eminences, and commanded the Notary to attach his official seal.* It was done, and an explicit permission to worship Confucius and sacrifice to the dead was archived in the Holy Office, to be an everlasting testimony to the hypocrisy of Rome.

We cannot attribute any high standard of conscience or faith to our Mandarin, Tam-yo-vam; but it appears that he had once marked a line for himself which he would not very willingly overstep. Martino had gone somewhat beyond that boundary, and had also presumed to negotiate without his entire concurrence. And when, two or three years afterwards, the delegate brought this indulgence to China, instead of thanking him, he wrote these words to a Dominican: "A fine doctrine this that Father Martino brings, to teach the Chinese to commit idolatry;" forgetting that they had not yet been

* Brevia, &c., pars ii., p. 21, et seq.

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untaught, and that the full force of his own example had been given in favour of idolatry. Morales, irritated at this procedure, convened seven Friars of his order, and sent an elaborate remonstrance "to the Holy Apostolic See in Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide.* But it obtained no regard. In the year 1669, however, on the application of Polanco, a Dominican, the Inquisition, under Clement IX., was induced to retract the licence given to Martino, and to declare the former decision of 1645, which I have described at some length, to be the rule for China.†

The truth is, that the decisions of the Court of Rome vary according to the preponderance of internal or external influence. The Jansenists, at this time, kept Europe alive to the Chinese controversy, and exerted great influence over the French Clergy. Arnauld and Bossuet were in intimate correspondence, and the question lay before the Doctors of the Sorbonne. Bossuet mingled ridicule and indignation in his condemnation of the Company, many of whom scrupled not to exalt the religion of Confucius to an equality, at least, with Christianity itself. The Censors of the University collected from the writings of Lecomte and Gobien, both Jesuits, a declaration "that the people of China had retained a knowledge of the true God during a period of

* *Morale Pratique*, tome vi., chap. 19.

† *Brevia*, pars ii., p. 35.

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nearly two thousand years, and had honoured Him in a manner that might provide Christians with example and instruction: that China had offered sacrifice to the Creator in the most ancient temple in the universe: that the purity of their morals, the sanctity of their manners, their faith, their inward and outward worship of the true God, their Priests, sacrifices, saints, men divinely inspired, miracles, spirit of religion, purest charity, which is the perfection and the glory of religion, and the Spirit of God, had formerly subsisted among the Chinese through the lapse of twenty centuries: that no nation of the earth had been more constantly favoured by Divine Providence than China."

It would appear that some Protestant latitudinarians, perhaps in a foolish anxiety to despoil the Romanists of their exclusive claim to a superior antiquity in faith, caught this admiration of Chinese virtue. Leibnitz made himself conspicuous as advocate of the Jesuits; and even Basnage had somewhere said that "*the Chinese Church* was ancient." Bossuet exclaimed, with reason: "Strange Church indeed! A Church without faith, without promise, without covenant, without sacraments, without the least mark of a Divine testimony! A Church, where they know not what they worship, nor to whom they sacrifice; whether to heaven, or earth, or to their gods of mountains and of rivers; and where there is nothing but a confused heap of atheism, politics,

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and irreligion, with idolatry, magic, divination, and sortilege." * Rome was then involved in a stubborn controversy with her eldest daughter, France, concerning the relative prerogatives of Church and State. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the barbarities consequent, public opinion recoiled in favour of the persecuted : there were even passing thoughts of a union between the Gallican and the Lutheran Churches, and the Clergy of both were exchanging courtesies and overtures. It was not a time for the Cardinals to provoke a new schism, by making themselves party to the adoption of another Paganism in addition to their own ; and therefore the sentence of retractation, extorted by these considerations, was pronounced, confirming the decisions of 1645.

But be it noted that the only effect of this little concession was to hush, for a moment, the clamours of adversaries in Europe ; while the document now confirmed left the Jesuits a sufficiently broad margin of licence for all their purposes ; and so imperceptible was the effect of those futile restrictions on what was called Christianity in China, that the Board of Ceremonies, but a few years afterwards, did not refuse it an act declarative of solemn approbation. It was pleaded before that Board, and no one seems to have objected to the plea, that the religion of the Christians only

* Histoire de J. B. Bossuet, par M. L. Fr. de Bausset, ancien Evêque d'Alais, liv. xii., sect. 21.

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consisted in adoration of the Creator, obedience to Monarchs, Princes, Lords, and Magistrates, honour to parents or ancestors, and abstinence from perjury, murder, injury of others, adultery, and covetousness. The peculiar truths of Christianity were not mentioned in the debate concerning their petition for freedom of worship. Understanding that Christianity contained nothing repugnant to their own superstition, the Supreme Council of the empire accepted the favourable report of the Board of Ceremonies, and the Emperor Kang-he, in the year 1669, sanctioned it accordingly. The slightest disapprobation of ancestor-worship would have been alone sufficient to prevent this legal recognition, and would most probably have led to the utter extinction of Romanism in China; but the Jesuits gave no such offence, nor did the decisions of the Inquisitors in 1645 require that they should: and if the Jesuits failed to maintain their ground in the Celestial Empire, it was not the conscience of the Propaganda, the Inquisition, or the Pope that stood, for one moment, in their way.

On the contrary, the Court of Rome cherished a determination to conciliate the Chinese by means of the same policy, carried into the most important details. The native worshippers in the Christian temples were known to differ little or nothing from their brethren who frequented the pagodas; and just three years after the fullest licence was given to idolaters by Alexander VII.,

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this Pope declared those natives competent to the priesthood, and his successor, Clement IX., seven years later, empowered two Vicars-Apostolic, or titular Bishops, for another seven years, to ordain Chinese to all the orders of the sacred presbyterate, for the more rapid propagation of what it pleased him to call "the Christian religion." The only qualification required in the candidates was an ability to read Latin; although they might not understand the language, (*licet idioma Latinum non intelligerent*,) nor have any title, or ministerial charge.* And the like powers were afterwards continued, opening to Pagans access to the altars of the Papacy, without a shadow of objection to the character of Paganism, for which they were notorious, or any provision made for ascertaining the extent of their belief. All this it is of the utmost importance to note well, lest, in portraying Jesuitism, we should seem to represent it as a something in advance of Popery itself, and not as the most complete development and most exact representation of that system.

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When we digressed from the personal history of Schall, we left him in high favour with the Emperor, whose patronage was, in fact, too headlong to be constant. Eighty thousand persons, they say, threw themselves into the

* Brevia, &c., pars i., p. 37.

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bosom of the Church thus patronised, where the water of baptism washed away their sins. Within the Chinese territories, the Society counted one hundred and fifty-one Temples, and thirty-eight Residences. The Dominicans, notwithstanding their proverbial zeal, had no more than twenty-one churches, and two monasteries; their settlement at Macao being included in this calculation. And the diligence of the brethren of St. Francis had only raised three mass-houses and a convent. The Company outstripped and outshone them all.

But even within the palace there were some adverse influences. One of the wives of Shunche trusted, indeed, in amulets, and called Tam-yo-vam by the reverential name of Maffa. A part of the harem was at his devotion. But this very circumstance engaged another part to hate him. European law, and Chinese law, and Tartar law, had each its faction. His Majesty had become enamoured with the wife of one of his Captains, and took her into the nearest circle of Queens. She was not of the European faction, and had no faith in the charms of the stranger, but undermined him, to some extent, in the estimation of the newly-enamoured Sovereign. It is probable that his constitution was enfeebled by luxury, and shaken by licentiousness. The lessons of wisdom that the Jesuit Mandarin was incessantly—as he boasted—pouring into his ear, wrought with no healthful power in his heart.

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The more he learned of astronomy, the less trust he placed in the power of the stars, and the less reverence he paid to their interpreter. Familiarity did not heighten reverence; and the vanity of the favourite could not but clash, now and then, with the servility. Lamas and Bonzes could knock their heads upon the pavement with a grace that stole sweetly upon the nature of Shun-che, while the European Father stood erect, miscalculating the degree of power which he deemed himself to have attained. He had already waxed full; and therefore, like other satellites, the time came for him to be obscured and wane away. Those Ministers of the old religion of China exerted entire control over the favourite Queen, and had never lost their influence over the mother of the Empress, who no more than added a few new notions to the mass of her native superstition; and in proportion as she honoured the stranger, also propitiated the Bonzes, and soothed their jealousy, by more assiduously loading them with favours. While the attachment of the Emperor to Schall was wavering, his young wife died, his own health gave way, and he found himself sinking under a burden of disease and grief. He had never truly heard of Him who bears our sins and carries our sorrows.

Then the Pagans renewed their professions of devotedness to his person, condoled with his bereavement, and more than dislodged his thoughts the lessons on religion,

and fate, given him in idle hours by the President of Mathematics. His disease increased. They surrounded him in his chamber; and when Schall walked into the palace with accustomed freedom, and would have gone to his bedside, they absolutely forbade him to approach. Nor was this all. Shun-che himself refused to be disturbed. The Missioner had set his heart on baptizing the languishing Monarch; and whether his word or his action was the more offensive while endeavouring to accomplish his purpose, we cannot say. Certainly, distaste and alienation took the place of love; and Shun-che, like some others in like circumstances, refused to surrender himself to the Jesuits on his death-bed. Still Tam-yo-vam retained his honours and emoluments. He did not lose all the advantages of position. His prudence had saved him from any overt act of disobedience; and having given no fair opportunity to the opposite faction, they could not suddenly bring down their vengeance on his head. But, after all, he was little better than a courtier in disfavour, and his heart melted within him. The weapons of his warfare had been carnal, not spiritual. The strongholds of Paganism stood firmly as ever. No high thing yielded before the Christless Gospel; and as he did not honour the Saviour of men, neither was he honoured. The fabric of rank, power, learning, authority, raised by the toil of so many years, rested only upon sand. The skies loured, the winds began to

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blow, and the floods to come. The proud Jesuit trembled before the fall.

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No sooner did the Emperor die, than a torrent of enmity came down on the Mandarin and his brethren. The Chinese Bonzes and courtiers even accused him of having maliciously exposed the departed Monarch to the evil influences of the stars ; and facts were not wanting whereon to found their accusation.

It was obstinately alleged that he had appointed an unlucky day for the celebration of a funeral. A child of the deceased Queen had died, less than three months after its birth, and it devolved on the Board of Mathematics to fix the day for its burial, subject to the sanction of the Board of Rites. The Jesuits say that preparations for the funeral were made at great expense, that a mausoleum was to be erected worthy of the son of so sublime a Sovereign, and that the seventh morning after the death was appointed for carrying the body to its last resting-place. The President of Rules, as they represent the matter, appointed the day, but overlooked the hour, so that the sun had passed the meridian before the ceremonies were ended, and thus the heavens wore a malignant aspect. They affirm that Schall had foreseen this calamity, and forewarned the President of Rites, who paid no regard to his advice, but persisted in his own arrangements ; and, to hide himself from blame,

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when he found that the mistake was likely to be discovered, caused a document to be forged, containing a false decision of the Board of Mathematics, with an imitation of the official seal, so as to make it appear that Schall had prescribed the inauspicious hour and minute.

After keeping silence for forty days, the Jesuit, urged by the necessity of self-defence, accused the other of the fraud, and so saved himself. The President of Rites, according to this representation, then endeavoured to inculcate the President of Mathematics, on the charge of appointing the funeral on an unlucky hour; and the latter, in turn, convicted the former of having falsified a public edict, and insulted the Imperial Majesty. Schall insisted, it would seem, on a judicial examination of the affair, and saw his antagonist convicted of having deceived the Emperor and slandered himself. The criminal was degraded, as they relate, from all his dignities, and sent down into the ranks of the common people. The accomplice in the act of forgery was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and all the other members of the Board were banished. So far Schall might be considered fortunate; but a host of enemies arose from that moment, who, regarding him as the occasion of their disgrace and ruin, vowed vengeance. An opinion spread and strengthened with the public, that the selection of an unlucky moment for the burial of the infant Prince was really made by the European, whom they now conceived to be capable of any such method of

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revenge on the unfriendliness of the sufferers, and looked on him as dangerous, just in proportion to his knowledge of the mysteries of astrology.

While the chief men at Peking participated in the suspicion, and were beginning to regard him as leagued with the adverse powers of heaven to their discomfiture, the mother of the child died also. Then the conviction strengthened. And then Shun-che himself, dismayed by these terrors, sank lower and lower. Gladly would Schall have dispelled the suspicion by any profession of loyalty, and by any effort of personal attention; but access to the chamber was denied him. At length the Emperor died; and the cry was everywhere raised that the European had caused the death of both mother and father, by that appointment of an unpropitious hour. The lamentations for the death of Shun-che—although his recklessness, caprice, and severe tyranny had alienated his subjects from him—were the death-knell of the Jesuits' hopes. This event took place in September, 1661.

Four years of calamities followed to the Society.

With or without reason, the Fathers were accused of crimes against the state. Certainly one of the highest officers of state had been ruined at the suit of Adam Schall. Shun-che had left a child, only eight years of age, to succeed him on the throne, and four persons on whom the Regency devolved appointed Schall to that office,—one which is always

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desired by a Jesuit,—the tutorship of the young Emperor. By that he clung, and it helped to sustain him in power for a little ; but the revenge of his enemies relented not, neither did popular suspicion fall asleep. His name no longer served as a charm to gain absolution for the guilty, or redress for the oppressed ; and the members of the Company found themselves again treated as Barbarians. A Canton Mandarin threw Father Ferrari into prison, and demanded three thousand pieces of gold for his release ; thus beginning an official contest with Jesuitism, which would have been alone sufficient to bring it speedily to an end. Missioners who had come to Macao, in answer to the representations of Schall, that the whole empire was open before them, since an imperial edict gave them licence to preach everywhere, were not allowed to come a step beyond that place. The Sovereign who issued the licence was no longer living, and the Governor of Canton considered himself justified in using discretion under a change of circumstances. De Concha, Ecclesiastical Visiter, presented himself also at this gate of China, bearing a Papal Brief ; but was detained at Canton. Schall made a last effort, and managed to get this person through ; but hereabouts ended his political power.

In 1665, accusations which I cannot find related with distinctness, were laid against the Jesuits, and appear to have been extended to all the other Missioners. They were not incriminated for

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conspiring against the religion of the country. Christianity was not the ground of their delinquency, but an alleged conspiracy against the state. In the absence of evidence, and amidst the silence of their own historians, I can only mention the bare fact, and express my surprise that a passage in the history of the Society which might have been made a fruitful source of eulogy, should be passed over so lightly. Surely there must have been a prudential reason for this reserve. It is certain that twenty-four or twenty-five Missioners were brought together at Canton, summoned by public authority, and that they travelled thither in custody. Others were imprisoned in Peking, and Schall was one of them. James Rho, his early companion, and Prospero Intorcetta, were fellow-prisoners. So was Verbiest, who afterwards rose to the mandariniate.

Schall was the chief criminal, and him they condemned to be beheaded and dismembered. The punishment, however, was commuted into perpetual imprisonment; and, shut up with his companions, he endured this humiliation but a few months. On August 15th, 1666, aged seventy-five, he breathed his last. And thus ended a career of unprecedented brilliancy in the history of Missions. He had abandoned the ground on which alone the Christian Minister—but this honourable title cannot be awarded to an emissary from Rome—treads with assurance and with safety. He had sought to establish himself at the seat of government, and there,

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involved in politics, was made a state-prisoner, and adjudged a traitor. He had attempted to introduce a something under the name of Christianity, by means of mathematics, astrology, and the worship of ancestors and demons. This very astrology, being quoted against him, turned back the current of his fortune. And if the Romanist of this day, admiring his talents, which were indisputably great, should wish to count him with martyrs and servants of God, and call him "venerable," he must be reminded that John Adam Schall was not a martyr of the Lord Jesus Christ, but of the stars, whose dominion he acknowledged, or of Jesuitism, in whose craft he perished.*

We must not, after all, fail to note that the child committed to his care, and instructed by him during four or five years, was so closely attached to himself and to his Company, that, on attaining majority, he caused the body of Schall to be buried, at public expense, with all the honours due to a person of his rank, raised the Jesuits again to favour, gave them marks of entire confidence, employed some of them on services of great importance, and rewarded the Society, in the year 1692, with an edict releasing its members from the prohibition which they had incurred, acquitting them of the charge of evil-doing, and allowing to the "religion of the Europeans" free profession, temples, Priests, and sacrifices.

* *Historica Relatio*, p. 290, et seq.; Cretineau-Joly, *ut supra*.

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This was the Emperor Kang-he, whose fame sounded high in Europe, and whose name is intimately associated with the history of Jesuitism in China.*

A history of Jesuitism in China from its adoption by Kang-he, to its fall in the year 1745, would be no less instructive than that of any other period. We should see Roman Pontiffs beset by the clamours of indignant Europe, calling for the suppression of the Inquisition, and the extinction of the Society of Ignatius. We should see Clement XI. trying to satisfy complainants nearer home by rebuking the Jesuits abroad, and issuing a Bull prohibitory of the pagan ceremonies. The Chinese Missioners would appear in an attitude of reluctance, nay, of resistance to the supreme authority of their Church, appealing to the Emperor for some decision that might either indulge them with permission to please the Pope, or else overrule the canonical decision by declaring that the ceremonies used in China were only civil. This was impossible. Such a declaration, if attempted, would have encountered universal contradiction, and might have overthrown the dynasty and annihilated Popery at the same stroke. We should have to describe the arrival of a Papal Nuncio at Canton, and his vain endeavour to approach the throne, and offer compromise. We should hear the repre-

* *Icon Regia Monarchæ Sinarum nunc regnantis. Ex Gallico versa, 1699.* Printed without name of place or printer, because not licensed by the Propaganda.

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representatives of the Roman See imploring the occupant of that See to overlook the ceremonies, for the sake of Christianity, which could not exist, as they declared, without them. But Benedict XIV., a staunch canonist, and a careful statesman, saw that, after all, that load of ceremonies must be thrown overboard, lest his bark should sink in the tempest. By two Bulls, of July, 1742, and September, 1744, he decreed to reduce Popery in China to the form that it wears in Europe. Under that form the Chinese would not accept it: and while some of the Jesuits made virtue of necessity, and left the country, others remained there, divested of their proper character, and acting at Peking as mechanicians, painters, gardeners, and men of science; a few lurked in Macao and Hong-Kong; and so the Company, tenacious of life, lived there still, and persisted in perpetuating its existence, even after the extinction of their order at home, in 1773, by Pope Clement XIV.

The reader scarcely needs to be informed that, after the recent cession of the five Chinese ports to Great Britain, and the treaty which allowed all Europeans the free exercise of their religion, the Jesuits flocked back again in great numbers. Protestant Missionaries, however, publish the holy Scriptures, preach the Gospel, and now render impossible such frauds as that of Schall and his companions.





Engraved by J. Stuart.

GERULBEER.

Printed by J. Mason.

at Row

A JESUIT REFUGEE.

GABRIEL GRUBER,

**GENERAL OF THE COMPANY WHEN IT WAS
REVIVED IN RUSSIA, AFTER HAVING BEEN
PROSCRIBED IN ALL OTHER COUNTRIES.**



A JESUIT REFUGEE.

GABRIEL GRUBER.*—SUPPRESSION OF THE
COMPANY OF JESUS.

I SHALL not weary my readers by recounting the political crimes which provoked the chief nations of the Popedom to expel the Jesuits, nor shall I sully these pages by detailing their immoralities. Every court and every country resounded with indignation. Their doctrines and their practices became the subject of universal abhorrence. Politicians, divines, and satirists joined in one murmur of contempt. They were arraigned before all tribunals. Memorials, for the suppression of the Company, were laid before the Sovereigns of all states where they had been tolerated. Preachers denounced their wickedness. It became the bur-

* Under the name of Garnet I traced a passage of Jesuit history in England, wherein that person figured conspicuously. Under the name of Gruber I also sketch some of the proceedings of that remnant of the Company which found refuge beyond the circle of the Popedom, and chiefly in Russia. This name naturally presents itself for the present purpose, as Gabriel Gruber lived through the period of nominal extinction, and received Papal recognition and sanction as General of the Company in Russia.

den of ballads, and the theme of every discourse ; and the name JESUIT, as it had been associated with every form of mischief, and as all mischiefs had been cloaked under a profession of sanctity, zeal, and wisdom, whatever was consummated in hypocrisy and cunning thenceforth received the name, and the language of mankind was enriched with an adjective of more pregnant signification than any other of its class. The books written, in almost all the languages of Europe, to justify the revolt of humanity and patriotism against the Jesuits, are alone sufficiently numerous to form a library ; and, after making all possible allowance for exaggeration and for satire, a mountain of infamy stands, which no skill of their own can ever level, nor any officious or deluded charity will ever be able to disguise.

It was while the world rang with accusations of all sorts of delinquencies, that Pope Clement XIII., as if insensible to shame, poured out his soul in anguish in a letter addressed to Charles III. of Spain, who had just won the thanks of his own subjects by an act of summary expulsion. We discern the natural and unchangeable sympathy of the Pontificate in his expressions :—

“ Among all the strokes of bitterest affliction that have been laid upon us in these nine most unhappy years of our pontificate, the most grievous of all to our paternal heart is that which comes in the last letter from Your Majesty, where you tell us of your determination to exterminate

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the Religious of the Company of Jesus out of all your extensive realms and dominions. *Tu quoque, fili mi?* And thou, too, my son? Then must our dearest Catholic King, Charles III., be the man to fill up the cup of our sorrows, and send our miserable old age down to the grave drowned in tears? Then must the most religious and most pious King of Spain, Charles III., lend his arm—that most potent arm which God has given him to uphold and promote the Divine honour, and the honour of holy Church, and the salvation of souls—must he lend that arm to the enemies of God, and of the Church, to tear up the foundations of a religion so useful and so dear to the Church herself; a religion that owes its origin to those most holy heroes whom God elected out of the Spanish nation, to propagate His greater glory throughout all the earth? And will he for ever deprive his realms and his people of the multitude of spiritual helpers that have for more than two centuries happily instructed them with sermons, missions, catechisms, exercises, and administration of sacraments, giving instruction to the youth in piety, literature, worship, and the decorum of religion? Alas, Sire! In prospect of so great a wreck, we have no spirit left.

“But what equally, nay, more profoundly, wounds us, is this reflection. The most wise and most gentle King, Charles III., a King of so tender conscience that he would not hazard his eternal

salvation by suffering the meanest of his subjects to be defrauded of the least amount without an examination of the cause, without legal formalities for the security of what belongs to every citizen : even he has thought it right to proceed against an entire body of ecclesiastics devoted to the service of God and of the public, not examined, not heard, not defended ; and has visited them with a fatal extinction of their fame, and expulsion from their country, and from the establishments lawfully acquired there, and lawfully possessed. Alas, Sire ! This is a long step ; and if it be not fully justified in the sight of God, Sovereign and Judge of all creatures, the approval of those who advised it will be nothing worth, nor the applause of him who helps you with his genius," (De Aranda,) "nor the silence of your subjects, nor the resignation of those on whom the blow has fallen. For our part, while we feel incredible regret in saying so, we cannot but confess to Your Majesty that we fear, yes, we fear for the salvation of your soul that is so dear to us."

After this impassioned appeal, the Pontiff condescends to argue. He protests that the Company is innocent, absolutely innocent in the sight of God. Not only innocent, but pious, useful, holy in its object, and holy in its laws. He implores him to revoke the sentence, not caring what men may say, but what Heaven will say ; and to imitate Ahasuerus, who countermanded

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his decree for the slaughter of the Hebrews. The letter was dated April 21st, 1767.

But letters and monitories availed nothing, when the Kings of France, Spain, Portugal, and the Two Sicilies, with the republic of Venice and the Duke of Parma, demanded the universal suppression of the order; and Clement had actually appointed a Consistory wherein to consider their memorial, when he suddenly expired. The next Pontiff, fourteenth of the same name, received the demand as one of the liabilities encumbering the See which could not be evaded by all the ingenuity of his court.

If a demonstration that the cause of Jesuitism is that of Rome were wanting, it might be found in the history of the Conclave after the death of Clement XIII. He had appointed a meeting of all the Cardinals to consider the question, whether or not the Society should be extinguished. Before the day appointed, he died. "*He had supped*, and as he was getting into bed, about ten at night, he screamed out, vomited a large quantity of blood, and immediately expired."* He was to have asked the Cardinals to acquiesce in the desire of the Princes; but death averted that proposal. Lorenzo Ricci, General of the Society, had presented him a memorial, to show that he could not lawfully suppress the Company. "A respectable member of the Roman Clergy" answered the memorial, and the

* Caraccioli.

answer was in circulation at Rome when the Pope, so opportunely for the Company, departed. "By order of some Cardinals," who probably formed themselves into a sort of extemporaneous congregation immediately on his decease, a Prelate drew up a refutation of that paper ; and as the choice of the new Pope was required by the Ambassadors to fall on a Cardinal willing to follow up the interrupted action, the Conclave struggled hard, but vainly, to resist the influence which their own customs gave to European governments ; and it was not until those governments had made good use of their privilege of exclusion, shutting out obnoxious Cardinals, that the election was effected. To inspirit the Conclave, one of its members called them together, and read a summary of pro-Jesuitic pleading.

"Can it be possible, cry the Catholics, that the Pope, whoever he may be, could ever make use of the authority he received from Jesus Christ, to put the last hand—to set the seal of God—to a deed of such flagrant injustice? Indifferent persons, such as are always in the greater number, discuss the question more calmly ; but most, even of them, are persuaded that the Pope could not do it in honour nor in conscience. Here is a new sort of persecution. They would force a father to sacrifice his children. They would oblige a Pope to subscribe and confirm the decrees of proscription issued against

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those who best observe the laws and constitutions that he and his predecessors have approved. What would those very Princes say to leagued enemies who should refuse to listen to any terms of accommodation, until they had discharged the best part of their army, and disbanded a good many of their regiments? Or if there were a King, so cowardly and so blind, could a head of the Church be found so deficient in understanding and in firmness?

"This is like the fable of the wolves who required the sheep, as first condition of a treaty with themselves, to part company with the dogs, because those dogs were fit for nothing but to perpetuate trouble and division." They feared that the suppression of the Company of Jesus was meant to be but the first of a series of extinctions, that would rob the Church of all the other religious orders, and eventually destroy the hierarchy itself. As to the hope of making peace between the Church and the civil powers, they treated it as childish, and regarded the object itself as comparatively trifling. "The successors of the Apostles have neither peace nor truce to expect in this world. *Such is the nature and essence of their ministry, that, whether they will or not, they are under the inevitable necessity of resistance, and of battle.*" If, for the sake of an impracticable peace, they were to disband the troops that God, in His Providence, had given them, either He would

raise up others, with whom there would be less hope of tranquillity; or, without a crusade, religion must perish.

"Some say that there is danger of a schism. No fear of that! Kings do not want schism. If a schism, indeed, is imminent, you cannot avert it by destroying your best forces; but you may provoke a schism by showing that you fear it. No! Let it be repeated, No! Never will a Vicar of Christ debase himself so far as to capitulate with persecutors. Never will he condescend to play the last part in this monstrous tragi-comedy. But if—which is impossible—if a Pope could be found capable of yielding in this contest, *with what an eye would the new Pope be looked upon?* He would be in opposition to all the good Bishops that have lately spoken out, and shown their zeal towards Clement XIII., who had the glory of not taking one false step in the course of his pontificate. [But if his pontificate had not been shortened, he would, perforce, have taken a step towards the extinction of the Jesuits.] What body ecclesiastical or religious would ever have courage to show fealty and zeal towards the Holy See, after it had cast off its best friends? Such an abandonment would resemble that of Pontius Pilate, who at the same time declared Jesus Christ to be innocent, and then gave Him over to His murderers. In short, infidels and libertines, Catholics and heretics, friends and foes—yes, the whole world, fixes its

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eyes on Rome, and waits to see if it be true, as our enemies never fail to say, that self-interest is the only religion here ; that intrigue, cabal, money, and politics decide everything here.” *

Not intrigue, nor cabal, nor money, but the soundest policy, expressed in remonstrance, that would take no denial, and in direct action on the Conclave assembled, did decide. Ganganelli was elected, with an understanding that he would suppress the Company, but without any explicit promise that he would. Four years after his election, on July 21st, 1773, having given the matter most careful consideration, and not without manifest reluctance, he signed the Brief *Redemptor ac Dominus*, and, laying aside the pen, said to the persons present : “ Here, then, this suppression is really made ! I do not repent. I did not make up my mind to do it until after examining and pondering well ; and because I thought it useful and necessary for the good of the Church, I have considered it my duty to do it, and, if it were not done, would do it now. *But this suppression will be my death.*” A deed so perilous is worthy of note. Let us see in what light Clement XIV. sets the Society, and what reasons he assigns for the extinction.

The Brief, as is usual in such documents, contains a historical review of the Society, with

* Mémoire lu au Conclave au Sujet de la Demande faite au Saint Siège de la Destruction des Jésuites par les Ministres des Couronnes de Bourbon. 1773.

its constitution, its customs, the charges brought against its members from time to time, and the means taken to remedy, or to prevent, abuses. "But with extreme grief of mind," says Clement, "we have observed that neither the aforesaid remedies, nor many others more lately employed, have had any perceptible effect for preventing or dispelling innumerable disturbances, with accusations and complaints made against the Society; and that our predecessors Urban VIII., Clement IX., X., XI., and XII., Alexander VII., and VIII., Innocent X., XI., XII., and XIII., and Benedict XIV., who laboured so excellently to restore tranquillity to the Church, have laboured utterly in vain. Very many and most salutary constitutions, published by these Popes concerning worldly traffic, which the Jesuits carried on, both to the neglect of their sacred Missions, or on account of them, but which they ought not, by any means, to have been engaged in; as well as concerning most grave dissensions and quarrels with Bishops, regular orders, pious institutions and communities of every kind, in Europe, Asia, and America, waged fiercely by the Society, with immense ruin of souls and scandal of the world, all have been unavailing. Constitutions have been also made concerning the interpretation and exercise of certain heathen ceremonies in various places, with omission of those which are justly approved in the universal Church, or concerning the use and interpretation of opinions

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condemned by the Apostolic See as scandalous, and manifestly injurious to good morals.

“They have also been censured concerning other matters of the highest moment, and of the first importance for preserving the purity of Christian doctrine, whence damage and trouble have resulted, both in the last century and in the present,—broils and tumults in some Catholic countries,—persecutions of the Church in some provinces of Asia and Europe,—until at length Innocent XI., of pious memory, was compelled to interdict the Society from admitting novices to take the habit.” Other ineffectual efforts of discipline being recounted, the Pope goes on to say : “The last Apostolic Letters of Clement XIII., our predecessor of happy memory, in which the institute of the Society is greatly commended, and again approved, were extorted rather than obtained, but without bringing any comfort to the Apostolic See, any help to the Society, or any good to Christendom.”

The sentence is explicit, and reads thus :—

“Having therefore employed so many and such necessary means ; assisted also, as we trust, by the presence and inspiration of the Holy Spirit ; compelled, moreover, by the necessity of our office, by which we are most rigidly bound, so far as our strength allows, to conciliate, cherish, and confirm the tranquillity of Christendom, and entirely remove out of the way whatever may be, in the least, detrimental thereunto ;

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and as we have ascertained that the said Society of Jesus cannot any longer produce those plentiful and abundant fruits and benefits for which it was instituted, approved by so many of our predecessors, and adorned with many privileges; and seeing that it is almost, if not utterly, impossible, that, so long as it continues, any true and lasting peace can be restored to the Church: moved by these most weighty causes, and pressed by other reasons which the laws of prudence and the best government of the universal Church suggest, but which we reserve in profound silence, treading in the steps of our predecessors, and especially of the abovesaid Gregory X., in the General Council of Lyons; and since the Society now in question, both on account of its institute and its privileges, is to be numbered with the mendicant orders; after mature deliberation, *out of our certain knowledge and plenitude of Apostolic power, we extinguish and suppress the often-mentioned Society.*"

Then is the order stripped of all its property, the inmates of all the houses and colleges are expelled, with a reservation in favour only of the infirm and aged, and the Missions are included in the same sentence of extinction. All and singular ecclesiastical persons, regular or secular, of whatever degree, dignity, quality, and condition, who have heretofore belonged to the Society, are forbidden to defend, impugn, write, or even speak of this suppression, its causes and

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motives, or anything concerning the institute, rules, constitutions, or government of the Society, or anything relating to the subject, without express licence of the Roman Pontiff. And their adversaries are also forbidden, under pain of excommunication, to affront, ill-use, or insult any ex-Jesuit, by writing or speech, in public or in private. All Christian Princes are exhorted to aid in the publication of the Brief, and in the execution of the sentence. The sentence could not be executed without force. At Rome, Ricci, the ex-General, and some others, were imprisoned in St. Angelo ; and lest the Jesuits should revenge themselves by exciting popular tumult, it was thought necessary to exclude them both from pulpits and the confessionals.

Jesuitism was extinct in Rome ; but Jesuits abounded. The same spirit which had often enabled them to predict the death of their enemies, now inspired them with certainty that Clement XIV. would not live to see the celebration of a jubilee, which he had appointed for the year 1775 ; and this foredooming was repeated openly. In the month of April, 1774, the bloom began to fade from his cheeks, and he felt a slight sensation of languor. About Midsummer the symptoms became distressing : pain in the bowels, not yielding to the usual remedies ; a slow fever, not diminished by sudorifics, while he lay bathed in perspiration, produced only by artificial means under the heat of summer. By

the end of July, Clement lay in a state of extreme weakness and emaciation, with acute spasmodic pains, and but the shadow of what he had been. "His bones exfoliated, and seemed to grow less, like a tree, which, when wounded in the root, decays, loses its bark, and by degrees falls to the ground." At the same time, the affairs brought before him seemed to be tangled with multiplying perplexities; and libels and sinister predictions, originating, no one could tell with whom, were in every one's mouth. Those around him suspected that poison had been twice administered, first in April, and afterwards at the end of June. Nausea, colic, convulsions, difficult respiration, and aberration of mind, increased in spite of every effort of the physicians, one of whom, Dr. Salicetta, pronounced the disorder to be "as extraordinary as it was incurable." Salicetta, unable to assuage his pains, endeavoured to soothe him by words, and advised him to keep himself quiet. But the involuntary tossings gave him no rest, and he could only say, "Death, against which we wrestle in vain, will soon give me an opportunity of doing that." In the beginning of September, he made a vain attempt to escape from Rome to Castel Gandolfo, whither the Popes usually go in the hottest months; but it was impossible to endure the journey. The carriage turned back again towards the Quirinal, and there he lay for about a fortnight, sinking into the arms of death. On September 22d he

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expired. Immediately after death the body began to swell. It turned black, the bowels were in a state of putrefaction, the process of embalming could not be continued, the corpse was hurried away to burial, the marks of poison were unequivocal ; but no one had courage to propose an investigation, lest the same revenge should be executed on himself. And thus were verified his own words on signing the Brief, *Questa suppressione mi darà la morte*, "This suppression will cause my death ;" and, again, when near his end, *Io me vado à l'eternità, e io so il perchè*, "I am going into eternity, and I KNOW THE REASON WHY." *

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While Clement XIV. reviewed evidences of the guilt of Jesuits in all parts of the Popedom, and the Princes demanded an extinction of the order, it became them to consider where a place of refuge might be found in time of need. All southern Europe would certainly agree to shut its doors against them. England wisely proscribed them, as public enemies. Austria loathed them. In such countries as Holland and Sweden, the spirit of Protestantism would not brook the presence of a Jesuit. The Mission stations had been the scene of some of their most odious crimes ; and when dislodged thence, the Heathen would repel them no less heartily than the

* Carraccioli, Life of Clement XIV.

secular Clergy, invested with special authority to that intent. But there still remained two Sovereigns in Europe willing to shelter outcasts from the Papacy.

Frederic II. of Prussia, notorious for the grossest infidelity; a man whose atheism found utterance in his last hours, when he expressed a wish to be buried with his favourite greyhounds;* a man whose hand had often prefixed to the signature of his own name that horrid sentence, with reference to the adorable Author of Christianity, "*Crush the wretch*;" this monster of impiety accepted their overtures of loyalty and good service. They offered to educate his people, after their well-known manner of inculcating obedience, and excluding the reality of knowledge, by the substitution of a counterfeit. Voltaire, the intimate friend and correspondent of the King of Prussia, wondered at the apparent caprice that would admit a set of men whom all the world believed to be subverters of all government but their own, and that would open the door to an order nurtured in fanaticism. He remonstrated with the crowned atheist: his friend, and another French "philosopher," D'Alembert, did the same. But Frederic laughed at Voltaire; wondered, in turn, to see a philosopher intolerant; and, jesting at his fears (A.D. 1770), replied that as the good *Cordelier* of the Vatican (Clement was a Franciscan) left him his

* Menzel, Hist. of Germany, chap. ccxxxix.

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dear Jesuits, everywhere else persecuted, he would preserve the precious seed, and raise this rare plant for the benefit of any who might hereafter wish to cultivate the same. To D'Alembert he wrote, a few months before the suppression (December 4th, 1772), saying that he had received a messenger from Ricci, General of the Ignatians, who pressed him to declare himself, openly, Protector of that order. But he replied, that when Louis XV. thought fit to disband the regiment of Fitz-James, he had not considered it his duty to intercede for that corps; and that the Pope, in like manner, was quite at liberty to manage his own affairs as he thought best; but it became not heretics, like himself, to interfere.

In truth, he was glad to make use of persons whose interests might be bound up together with his own; and was especially ready to catch the opportunity for making himself popular in Silesia, where the Society, by means of schooling, had acquired great influence. As a Protestant Sovereign, he did not acknowledge the Pope to have any authority in his dominions; and having already promised the Jesuits protection, no sooner was the Brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*, known to the Court of Berlin, than he issued a decree, to the following effect:—"We, Frederic, by the grace of God, King of Prussia, to all and singular our faithful subjects, &c., greeting. As you are already instructed that you cannot circulate any Bulls or Briefs from the Pope

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without having received our approbation to this effect, we have no doubt that you will abide by this general order, in case that the Pope's Brief, bearing the suppression of the Jesuits, reaches the tribunals of your jurisdiction. We have, nevertheless, judged it necessary to remind you of this again; and as, under date of the 6th instant" (August or September, 1773), "at Berlin, we have resolved, for reasons moving us thereto, that this annihilation of the Society of Jesuits, recently despatched, shall not be published in our states, we graciously command you to take measures necessary for the suppression of the said Brief; for which end, as soon as you receive these presents, you shall expressly forbid every ecclesiastic of the Roman Catholic religion, dwelling within your jurisdiction, under peril of severe punishment, to publish the said Brief, which annuls the Society of Jesus."

Not content with this proclamation to the civil magistracy of Prussia, Frederic sent a dispatch to his agent at Rome:—"Abbé Colombini, you will say to such as wish to hear it, but without the air either of ostentation or of affectation, and will even take occasion to say naturally to the Pope and his Prime Minister, that, touching the affair of the Jesuits, my resolution is taken to preserve them in my states, just as they have been hitherto. I have guaranteed, by the treaty of Breslaw, the *status quo* of the Catholic religion, and I have never found better

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Priests in every respect. You will add that, as I belong to the class of heretics, the Pope cannot dispense me from the obligation of keeping my word, nor from the duty of an honest man."

This document, as well as the one preceding, I give on the faith of Cretineau-Joly,* whose versions are always free, and so coloured, as to favour the Society; and trust the same hand for a transcript of some further correspondence between the King and D'Alembert. The philosopher, it seems, feared that the Fathers would repeat in Prussia the criminal conduct for which they were abhorred in France, and Frederic answers: "You may set aside your fears for my person. I have nothing to fear from the Jesuits. The Cordelier Ganganelli has clipped their claws and drawn their tusks, and reduced them to such a state, that they can neither scratch nor bite. But they may teach children, for which they are better qualified than all others put together. These men, it is true, did play double in the late war; but you must reflect on the nature of clemency. This admirable virtue cannot be exercised, unless there has been some offence preceding. And you, philosopher, must not reproach me if I treat men kindly, and exercise humanity towards my fellow-creatures without distinction, to whatever religion or society they may belong. Take my word, practise philosophy, and let us deal in metaphysics

* *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tom. v., chap. 7.

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less. Good actions are worth more to the public than the most subtle systems, and the finest discoveries, in which our mind is generally carried away without coming at the truth. Besides, I am not the only one that have preserved the Jesuits. The English and the Empress of Russia have done the same."

Of Russia we shall hear more. As to England, we now learn to our shame and sorrow the effects of indecision and of legal mockery. Eighty years have not yet elapsed since this letter was written: the history of Prussia already testifies to the folly of that infidel trifler, Frederic II. And the whole world knows, that, although the claws of Jesuitism were then clipped, and its tusks drawn, its nature was not changed, nor are its progeny born without claws and tusks. No instinct has been weakened, nor any vice eradicated. The beast loses nothing of its nature; and the only difference it exhibits after fresh pampering, is a stronger growth, and greater power of mischief.

The Nuncio, I may briefly note, endeavoured to persuade Frederic to allow the Brief to be published, and promised that, the dignity of the Holy See being saved by that courtesy, the effects of the Brief should be nullified by connivance at its infraction. The French Ambassador also laboured to the same intent; but also without effect. The Romish Bishops in Prussia paid no regard to an injunction of the Nuncio, requiring

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them to suspend the Jesuits from the exercise of sacerdotal functions. On the contrary, the Bishop of Culm placed a seminary of his own under their direction. Orloski, their Superior, received marks of special favour from that King who boasted that he would annihilate Christianity. The presence of the Society in his dominions, as he well knew, would not interfere with such a purpose; and he concerted with Orloski a remarkable measure. The King issued an invitation to all the ex-Jesuits to come into his dominions, and live there according to the rule of St. Ignatius, allotting a pension of seven hundred florins to each refugee.

Meanwhile, Clement sickened, and found himself unable to enforce the Brief, even if willing. The impression of disgrace already began to pass away, and another and yet wider field of action lay open before the Society in Russia. Thither our attention shall be now directed, noting, by the way, that in Prussia, by a compromise with Pius VI., they were placed under some trifling limitations. Frederic, it seems, was pleased to think kindly of Pius; and by way of conciliation, after refusing to allow the Brief of extinction to be acted on, he qualified his determination to give them scope for the exercise of their talent as educators, by consenting that they should submit to any ecclesiastical laws which the Pope might think proper to prescribe. Pius thus found means to satisfy the remonstrant Princes by an

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easy illusion. The Jesuits in Prussia were forbidden to preach, say mass, or to wear their habit. That is to say, they were put into disguise ; and those who thought it a great thing to disrobe a man, and forbid his bearing the garb or the title of his order, were satisfied. So were the Jesuits content ; for they were there, in life and action, and that was enough. The Bishop of Culm, in whose diocese they were established, showed them the greatest possible kindness ; but after the demise of this Bishop, his successor induced Frederic to limit his protection by a prohibition of receiving into novitiates. After the death of Frederic II. in 1786, his nephew, Frederic William II., deprived them of their revenues. Some were secularised, and others went into Russia.

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So long as it lasted, the sons of Loyola did not disdain the protection of a heretic, a philosopher, an atheist. Neither did they refuse, so long as that lasted, the favour of a schismatic, notwithstanding the principles said to be essential to their institute,—devotion to the Apostolic See, and obedience to the Pope.

In the Polish provinces of Witebsk, Mohilow, and Minsk, comprehended under the general designation of White Russia, the Jesuits had large establishments : four colleges at Polotak, Witebsk, Orcha, and Dunaburg ; two houses at

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Mohilow and Mierziacza, and fourteen Missions. Two hundred Jesuits, dispersed over the country, sowed seeds of stunted erudition, alienation from national interests and honour, and a servile dependence upon Russia. How far they succeeded in depressing the kingdom of Poland, and hastening its exclusion from the number of nations, may be learned from Count Krasinski, to whose volumes * I must refer the reader. Catherine of Russia might therefore with reason esteem them as exactly fitted to subserve her interest, when she took possession of those provinces. There were also two qualifications, which further commended them to her favour. She desired to keep the Protestant religion at the utmost possible distance; and they existed for the express purpose of bringing to nought the Reformation. She was willing to use Romanism as an instrument of government; but sternly resolved to allow the Pope no power within her empire. They were, in perfection, Romanists; but the reigning Pope was reputed to be their enemy. Nay, there were even other qualifications recommendatory. They loved to frequent palaces, and she was fond of minions. They adapted themselves to all company and all customs; and her extreme and shameless profligacy—for she was called the Messalina of the North—rendered such compli-

* Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland. London, 1838.

ant dependents most acceptable. She had de-throned, and, as it is generally believed, murdered her husband, and, for a few months after the deed, her conscience rebuked and even troubled her ; but having perfectly recovered her self-possession, ecclesiastics of a sort that were known to keep at a respectful distance from the conscience of their patrons were sure to find welcome while she governed at St. Petersburg.

The Czarina took possession of White Russia on October 14th, 1772. The allegiance of the Clergy, both Romish and Protestant, who had been Poles all their life, until the morning when they awoke Russians, was very doubtful. So was that of the nobles and the people. But the Jesuits, for that time, tenderly alive to the demands of "Christian duty," had felt it right to proffer allegiance in anticipation to the foreigner whose cause they had promoted ; and, accordingly, they were the first called on to be sworn. They hastened to take the oath ; and thus, while the Supreme Pontiff was drawing up the Brief for their extinction, they were meriting the friendship of a schismatic, whom they were canonically bound to curse.

Their hope of merit was crowned without delay. Father Stanislaus Czerniewicz, Rector of the College at Polotsk, appeared at the head of a deputation of the Latin Clergy, knelt before the head of the Greek Church, and assured her of their homage. Encouraged by her gracious

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reception, he also undertook to represent the perplexing condition of his Company. Peter the Great, by an ukase of the year 1721, had banished all Jesuits, for ever, from the country. But the country had now come to them, not they to the country; and would Her Imperial Majesty visit on them, in their innocence, the proscription of a predecessor? The Pope, too, sat with arm uplifted, ready to launch on their Society, wherever that bolt could reach it, a thunder of extinction. But that thunder could not reverberate within the frontiers of the empire in which they now found themselves included. *There* they might abide in safety, if the ukase of Peter could be cancelled. The most loyal of her new subjects ventured to implore that they might not be extruded from that place of refuge; and Catherine, happy to add so skilful a body to the number of her debtors, granted the petition. Thenceforth, the Fathers had the very equivocal honour of ranking with the favourites of the Czarina Catherine II.*

And what said Ganganelli to this alliance of the ex-Jesuits with the head of the Greek Church in Russia? Catherine, in a letter, sent by her authority to the Russian Clergy, affirmed that, to gratify her, he had omitted to command the execution of the Brief in her states. This, added to the remarkable circumstance that it was not published at Rome in the usual manner,

* Cretineau-Joly, *ut supra*.

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tends to show that the Pontiff was moved by an external pressure, rather than by pastoral solicitude for the purity of the Church. Nor is this the only evidence of the kind. On June 7th, 1774, in the earlier stage of his decline from poison, he returned a rescript to the Prince-Bishop of Warmie, authorising the Jesuits in Prussia and Russia to remain *in statu quo*, until further decision.* Garampi, then the Nuncio at Warsaw, afterwards declared that he had not received any such a rescript: but it is difficult to believe that the Czarina would, in such a case, have affirmed what was utterly untrue; and we are therefore driven to the conclusion that Clement must have sent it by some other channel, in order to avoid the consequences of a publication from the nunciature at the Russian Court, which would have aroused the French and Spanish representatives at Rome to remonstrances that he knew not how to meet.

The conduct of the Jesuits themselves, in White Russia, was also doubtful. A letter is produced, with the signature of the Rector Czerniewicz, under the date of November 29th, 1773, addressed to Catherine, just when the Brief of Clement XIV. must have reached them. The writer acknowledged to her Sacred Imperial Majesty, that he and his brethren were indebted to her for licence to make public profession of the Roman Catholic religion in her glorious

* Cretineau-Joly, *ut supra*.

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states, and to remain at the same time dependent, as to spirituals, on their visible head in spirituals, the Supreme Pontiff. By this encouraged, they fell prostrate before her most august throne, and, by all that is most sacred, besought her to permit them to render prompt obedience to that spiritual jurisdiction, by executing the orders thence received for the abolition of their Company, and to condescend to suffer the Brief to be published. Thus might they show themselves faithful to Her Majesty, who, permitting the execution of the sentence, would allow them to obey him who gave it; and both powers, imperial and pontifical, would be satisfied.

The Provincial, Casimir Sobolewski, to whom it belonged to represent the Society, did not commit himself to this prayer for permission to be extinct, nor indeed was the prayer necessary. Mere abstention from observance of the rule of St. Ignatius would have sufficed, and they could have served the Empress as well without that observance as with it. Catherine did not answer the Rector; but sent a note to the Provincial in the laconic style of power: "You and the other Jesuits may obey the Pope in matters relating to dogma: as for the rest, you must obey your Sovereign. I perceive that you are scrupulous. I will have my Ambassador at Warsaw written to, that he may come to an understanding with the Pope, and relieve you from this scruple." They accepted this imperial

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dispensation from canonical obedience, and went on as if nothing had happened. It does not appear that the Nuncio interfered, or that any censure came from Rome. But a zealous Franciscan, not being in the secret, and bearing little good-will to the enemies of his own community, wrote an accusation of disobedience against them to Rome; and then it was that Clement provided a salvo for his own prerogative, by sending the secret Brief just mentioned. And thus the affair lay during the remaining months of the life of Clement and the first few months of the reign of his successor. But as the body of the brethren could not be taken into the confidence of the actors in this collusion, several of them were discontented with a position that seemed to expose them to the alternative of disobeying either the Pope or the Empress; and those timid ones withdrew from the Society.*

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From October 5th, 1774, to February 24th, 1775, the Cardinals were shut up in Conclave, unable, until the latter date, to agree in the election of a Pope. The Jesuits and the majority of Cardinals longed for one who would revive the order. The Ambassadors employed their utmost influence to effect a second election that would sustain their masters in filling in the grave over those whom they fancied to be buried while yet

* Cretineau-Joly, *ut supra*.

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alive. Time had cooled the zeal of some, and intrigue vanquished the opposition of others ; whence it came to pass that Braschi, a person who affected neutrality and moderation, obtained a majority of suffrages. This was all that could be desired ; for if Jesuits have only to encounter moderation, the victory is theirs.

On the very threshold of the pontificate, Pius VI. stood wavering. To quarrel with the courts of Versailles and Madrid might be fatal to the Apostolic See. To disappoint the *zealots*, his best friends, and the fervent advocates of Jesuitism, might be fatal to himself. He thought of Ganganelli, and smiled on the men who had numbered *his* days, and might also number those of Braschi, if provoked or disappointed. Yet he courted the favour of crowned heads ; and his vanity, which was great, swelled ridiculously large, when inflated by a smile of royalty ; but he dwindled into dust when threatened or brow-beaten by an earthly Potentate or his Ambassador. And as if under fascination, he crouched before the throne, distant as it was, of the schismatic Empress, Catherine.

Cardinal Rezzonico, Secretary of Memorials, received a prayer from the Russian Jesuits, who, after the interval of half a year from hearing of the accession of Pius VI., felt sufficiently confident of his favourable disposition to lay their case at his feet. They asked nothing less than permission to live according to their ancient rule,—to

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do as they were doing, but under an explicit sanction. Scarcely was their petition dispatched, when Catherine, a woman of nerve incalculably stronger than the Pope, anticipated the answer, if gracious, or nullified it, if adverse, by an act of pure authority. The titular Bishop of Mallo, the same person who complained of the disobedience of the Jesuits to Clement, had also presumed to exercise episcopal authority to their discomfort. He had limited the powers of the Rector of Polotsk, creating him Rector for seven months only, as if an office in that Society could come within his jurisdiction. He had prevented the Provincial from removing another Rector, hindered him from making some regulations, and had ordained some young Jesuits, in pursuance of the Brief of secularisation, setting at nought their vow of poverty. The military Governor of White Russia therefore tells him, on part of the most august Empress, that she has received the Jesuits of that province under her faith, care, and patronage, that they may remain as they were aforetime, with all pristine rights, privileges, exercises, and customs. No one must dare to interrupt them in the discharge of their duties, nor intermeddle in their concerns. Their temples, houses, schools, and all other property, are inviolable ; Her Sacred Majesty not suffering them to be in any way troubled by any person whatever. All this his reverence has *been told* before ; yet the Empress has heard

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that he exceeds his powers, with certain intent to depress and weaken the Society. On peril of her severest anger, he must abstain from giving them the slightest trouble or inconvenience, and there must be no more complaints heard of him.*

Together with the prayer of the White-Russian Jesuits, by their Provincial, the wail of his reverence of Mallo, smarting under the lash of Catherine, resounded in the office of Rezzonico. Enlightened by full knowledge of the posture of affairs, the Secretary went into the Papal closet, conferred with his old friend Braschi, and (January 13th, 1776) sent a cautious yet inspiring answer to the Provincial:—"As I expect, and most earnestly desire, *your prayers will have good success.*" This brief sentence brought them the dawn of hope. It was the first augury of renovation. They rested in that hope, quietly pursued their labours, did nothing to draw towards themselves the eye of the foreign Ambassadors at Warsaw or St. Petersburg, but laid the foundation of a new fabric to rise in a better form, adapted more exactly to the uses of another generation, and less unsightly to the people of another age. And then their enemies were lulled into inaction, with the persuasion that, although in refuge elsewhere, the sentence of extinction was not

* Die Neuesten Zustände der Katholischen Kirche beider Ritus in Polen und Russland seit Katharina II. bis auf unsere Tage. Augsburg, 1841. *Documenta* seit. 119.

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reversed at Rome, nor even weakened. Satisfied with their visible exclusion from the boundaries of Poppedom, people did not perceive how certainly they were gaining power for a day of restoration, by methods invisible to the public eye.

The secession of some, and the decease of others, with a want of novices to recruit their strength, left them in a state of rapidly diminishing efficiency. For want of labourers, they were obliged to abandon five Missions in Lithuania; and, at that rate, death would soon extinguish them. Czerniewicz, the Provincial, might have most easily taken the matter into his own hand, and, in concert with the Empress, educated young men to carry on the work of education; but he and his brethren would not consent to any lower condition of existence. They would not be mere schoolmasters. He said, with Aquaviva, *Sint ut sunt, aut non sint*: "Let them be as they are, or let them not be." Through the Governor of the province they appealed to Catherine, for permission to ask, at the hands of Pius VI., licence for a novitiate. The Bishop of Mallo, now placed in the real see of Mohilow, with that permission, applied to Rome for the powers requisite, in order to the reception of novices without delay.

The Propaganda undertook this cause, and on April 15th, 1778, sent a decree to this Bishop, Stanislaus Siestrzencewicz, investing him with unlimited authority over all the regulars of

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the Latin rite in Russia, for the space of three years. In sight of the unfriendly Princes, this decree seemed a death-blow to the remnant of Jesuitism in that remote province, as if the last fox had been scented into his cover, and there made an end of. It was thought that the Bishop of Mohilow was a most likely person to take vengeance on the last of a race abhorred by philosophers and Protestants. He had held a commission in the army, fought some battles, and proudly showed a hand with only three fingers, in evidence that he had braved the shock of war. Originally a Calvinist, and but a recent proselyte, politicians calculated on him as a man of little principle, and supposed that, by fair means or foul, he would finish the extinction of the Company. But the Cardinals of the Propaganda knew him better than to suppose that he would thwart the Empress. They knew that he was under an obligation to promote Jesuitism; for the injunction she had laid on the Bishop of Mohilow was intended to be followed by the seculars in general. No one was to molest the Jesuits in any way, under peril of Her Majesty's displeasure. The Prelate was invested with absolute power to do as he pleased for three years; and Cardinal Castelli, on countersigning the document, did not scruple to say, "This act is directed against the Jesuits; but it might save them, after all."

An interval of nearly four months was probably spent in making the matter sure; for it was not

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until the 9th of August that the Congregation had an audience with the Pope on this affair. He then confirmed their act. Siestrzencewicz received plenary authority to exercise jurisdiction, as Bishop over all the religious existing in the provinces under his administration, with right to visit and inspect with Apostolic authority, by himself or his delegates, regular monasteries, priories, and houses of every Order. He might "make diligent inquiry into their state, form, rules, *institute, government, life, conduct, discipline* in general and in particular, in the heads and in the members." Pius granted him power, "whenever he saw that, according to Apostolic doctrine, holy canons, decrees of General Councils, traditions and institutions of Holy Fathers, considered with regard to *circumstances and the nature of things*, any part was in need of change, correction, *revocation, renovation*, or even of *new institution*, to reform, change, correct, *institute anew*," and so on.

In due time the document reached Mohilow. The Ambassadors at Rome were assured, and they assured their courts, respectively, that Pius, filled with holy indignation on hearing that a few Jesuits dared still to breathe in White Russia, had consigned them to the military Prelate for annihilation. The Prelate, invested with the powers of Legate Apostolic, yet careful not to arouse Europe by a hasty measure, refrained from proceeding to act on the real intention of Rome

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until another year had passed over, and when statesmen should have ceased to trouble themselves about an affair which they fancied to be settled.

Suspicion being hushed, he celebrated mass with great pomp on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, 1779, assembled the Canons of White Russia, read the Pontifical Decree, and, with assent of the chapter, issued a mandate to his Clergy. Pope Clement XIV., he told them, of celebrated—it was observed that he did not say *holy*—memory, in condescension to the desire of the most august Empress of the Russias, did not press the publication of the fatal Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*. Pius VI., happily reigning, showed the same deference to the imperial desires, withdrawing all objection to the profession, habit, and name of the Clerks regular of the Society of Jesus in those dominions. Furthermore, the thrice-august Empress, to whom all the Catholics of her vast states were under countless obligations, had recommended to himself, both by word of mouth and in writing, to favour the said Clerks to the utmost of his power, and provide for the conservation of their institute. He hastened to perform this delightful duty, and would reproach himself if conscious of the slightest negligence. Up to that day, they had no novitiate in those realms : their number, consequently, diminished by little and little, and their useful ministrations, at that rate, must soon come to an end.

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This has determined him to grant them permission to receive novices. The authority granted him by the Pope in Propaganda assembled, although so satisfactory to the Kings of Spain and France, being worded "in a double sense," is so exactly adapted to the purpose, that he copies it literally, and thus throws a fuller weight of pontifical sanction into the turning scale. And then, with due formality, by virtue of the power conferred on him over the religious of the Russian empire, "and consequently over the Clerks of the Company of Jesus," he grants them permission to establish a novitiate, and to receive novices into their Society, and gives them his pastoral benediction.*

In all the Latin churches a Slavonic translation of this mandate was read on three successive Sundays, and exhibited on the gates of all their temples for public information. The very persons who had advised the investiture of Stanislaus of Mohilow with unlimited powers for this purpose, now saw fit to employ language of surprise, censure, and even indignation; and a signal exemplification was given of the worthlessness of public professions, and even of public documents, when made merely to be quoted and to mislead.

A copy of the Mohilow pastoral reached Rome on the 27th day of August, under cover to Borgia, Secretary of the Propaganda, and a staunch

* Die Neuesten Zustände, *Doc.* 121.

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friend of the Jesuits ; and Borgia showed it to the Pope next morning. What the Pope said was not divulged in the city, except that His Holiness had expressed surprise that the Bishop should have advanced so far on the strength of a decree, intended merely to empower him to settle some trifling disputes among the Friars and the Bishops of his diocese. The Ambassadors obtained copies, sent them home, and raised an outcry against the stealthy march of ultramontaniam in Russia. Pallavicini, Secretary of State, the same day wrote a high-sounding letter of reproof to Stanislaus of Mohilow.

The Roman Gazette, as organ of the Government, immediately declared that the Pope had not empowered the Bishop to erect a novitiate ; that in the powers given him the Holy Father did not intend to do so ; and that the Bishop was already informed that his intentions were quite contrary to such an establishment. But, notwithstanding this disclaimer, there was no revocation of the decree, nor any canonical censure pronounced on the man who was said to have given it an application contrary to the intention of the Holy See.*

After the dispatches of the Ambassadors, the Pope sent an encyclical to his Nuncios in the so-called Catholic courts (September 3d, 1779). He wished them to be fully informed of an unexpected incident, which was likely to make great

* *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*, Utrecht, 1799, Nov. 20th.

noise in all the Catholic world, and had caused himself, his conscience permitted him to say, much pain and perplexity. In consequence of the partition of Poland, the entire dioceses of Lucko and Smolensko, with part of Wilna, of the Latin rite, came under the dominion of Russia. The invincible refusal of the Czarina to admit the natural jurisdiction of the Polish Bishops into Russia, and the pressing instance of this Sovereign for the spiritual government of the great number of Catholic subjects to be placed under one Pastor, had induced him to choose, although much against his will, for so vast and so delicate an employment, Stanislaus Siestrzencewicz, Bishop-elect of Mohilow. The respectful deference that this person showed at first towards the Propaganda, and the Apostolic Nuncio at Warsaw, caused His Holiness to hope that he would fulfil his duties with zeal and constancy, and justify the special confidence reposed in him. And, in truth, he did render a faithful report of the doings of the ex-Jesuits in White Russia; adding, at the same time, that the Czarina would not permit the formal abolition of the Society there, and that, for his own part, finding himself in want of Priests capable of exercising spiritual government, he would have to abandon that vast diocese, unless the Pope could furnish him, by some salutary compromise, with means of deriving service from the members of the suppressed Company. Then Pius went on to say that, considering the

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dangerous condition of the Catholics, if, by incurring Papal indignation, the Bishop of Mohilow should fail to keep his diocese, he directed Archetti, the Nuncio, to tell him that, as Clement XIV. had universally destroyed the Society of Jesus, so all who did not obey the supreme pleasure of the Vatican must be considered refractory. He therefore had bidden Archetti to tell this Bishop that he must not make use of the Jesuits *without the most pressing necessity*; nor omit to remind them, on every occasion, that their institution was abolished for ever. And by all means he was to endeavour to restrain them from executing the project of replenishing themselves by receiving novices. Archetti had reported, says the Pope, that the Bishop promised to do all this, and said that he had already influenced the Government so far, that it had not given them permission to receive novices. But, after all this, a letter came from Archetti, saying that this very thing had been done, and justified beside, by reference to the Brief of Clement XIV., and to a rescript of the Congregation.*

Archetti, on receiving the dispatch from Pallavicini, ran to Count Stackelberg, imperial Ambassador at Warsaw, and asked him by what authority the Bishop of Mohilow had thus nullified a decree of the Holy See. Stackelberg wrote to St. Petersburg for an answer to the question, and

* *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*, an. 1780, Jan. 16th.

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received a note, said to be dictated by Catherine herself, but evidently under Jesuit suggestion. Her Majesty hoped that her conduct, ever full of benevolence, would suffice to convince the Holy Father of her good-will towards the Roman See. Although she might have entirely changed the order of things in taking possession of White Russia, she had ordained that the rights and privileges of Priests and religious should remain intact, and made a solemn promise to preserve them so. "Her Majesty observes this promise towards all others faithfully; and why except the Jesuits? Not content with being devoted subjects, they also made themselves useful in giving youth a good education,—an object so dear to the heart of Catherine II., so beneficial to mankind, and at the same time so difficult of attainment in White Russia, on account of the fewness of Professors. Could the Empress have exposed herself to the reproach of breaking her word? Could she permit one of her provinces to be deprived of this benefit by banishing or despoiling of their privileges persons who had committed no new fault, and by persecuting her faithful subjects of White Russia by the abolition of so advantageous an institution? And how can it be said that she wounds the honour of the Roman See by supporting men who are, of all others, the best fit to maintain the Catholic religion? Such are the motives that have determined the profound

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wisdom of the august Czarina to depart from the opinion of other countries. She hopes that her declaration will be regarded by the Sovereign Pontiff as a proof of her imperial friendship, and the more so as she is not in the habit of giving any one a reason of her own measures of government. The Empress flatters herself that no harm will be done to the Bishop of Mohilow for having undertaken a matter of so great value to her people, so honourable to the Catholic name, and, consequently, to the Holy See; an act that he knew, at the same time, to be very agreeable to the Czarina." Stackelberg handed this note to the Nuncio, and added some reflections of his own.

And what judgment may we form of this remarkable transaction? It is not I that shall accuse Pius VI. of dishonesty, and say that the angry words of Pallavicini to the Lithuanian Prelate were a mere blind to mislead the remonstrant Sovereign; and that he was, all along, a party to the furtive restoration of the Society, beginning in White Russia. It is not I that shall say that the whole affair looks like a collusion, and that the sharp remonstrances of the Legate were only uttered to be heard in France and Spain. But I will translate the reflections of Cretineau-Joly, entirely expressing—which this writer most rarely does—my own conviction, as to the main conclusion.

"We have no question here as to the facts. If the Pope had not tacitly encouraged the Jesuits

to reconstitute themselves by means of the novitiate, he would only have had to speak one word, and they would have obeyed him, in spite of Catherine II. They would have dispersed at once, or in continuing, under the protection of the Empress, to educate youth, they would not have dreamt of reviving the work of St. Ignatius. But it was quite otherwise. The act of the Bishop of Mohilow compromised the relations of the Court of Rome with those powers that had done so much for the destruction of the Jesuits; and Pius VI., instead of speaking aloud from the Apostolic Chair, contented himself in leaving to Pallavicini the useless right of protesting in diplomatic notes. The Minister did this with harshness. He declared that the mandate of the Legate went beyond the intentions of the Pope. He represented this act as the evidence of bad faith and of an unworthy trickery. Yet no one suffers himself to be deceived by this language. Every one understands in fact that nothing was more easy than to put an end to this difficulty. Pius VI. did not get over it. He conducted himself like a mediator between two parties. The Pope, then, must have seen a great Catholic interest in this resurrection, which it was not permitted him to favour openly, but which he authorised with his best wishes in secret."

Creteineau-Joly, who wrote with the advantage of access to the archives of the Company, sustains this judgment of the private conduct of

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Pius VI. by a very remarkable anecdote. "In 1780, when the Emperor Joseph II. visited the Empress Catherine in his celebrated journey to the Crimea, he was accompanied by an old Hungarian Jesuit, named Francis Xavier Kalata. Joseph was fond of him; he travelled with him; and in one of his letters Kalata relates what he saw and heard. 'At Mohilow,' he says, 'and in the heart of one of the provinces lately dismembered from Poland, the Jesuits exist still on their old footing. They are powerfully protected by the Empress, on account of their talents for the education of Catholic youth in science and in piety. When we went to see the college, I asked to salute the Provincial, a truly venerable man. I asked him, and his inferiors also, on what they took their stand while refusing to submit to the Brief of suppression. He answered: *Clementissima nostra Imperatrice protegente, populo derelicto exigente, Roma sciente et non contradicente.* (Because our most clement Empress protects us, the neglected people require us, and Rome knows it, but does not contradict.) Then he showed me a letter of the reigning Pope, in which the Pontiff comforts him, and exhorts him to go on as they are until new arrangements can be made. He engages them to receive novices, and to admit the Jesuits of other provinces, who may desire to unite themselves with them, in order to take up again the sweet yoke of Jesus Christ, that had been violently

wrested from them. The Provincial added that all the Russian Jesuits were ready to abandon everything on the first authentic signification of the Pope's will to that effect, and only required that such a signification should be canonical."*

It was *not* the Pope's will that the revival of Jesuitism should be prevented, but just the contrary. He therefore gave no authentic and canonical signification of such a will. And in this we find a key to the contradictions and complexity of the whole affair.

Six or seven months after the reception of authority from Mohilow, the Jesuits made use of it at Polotsk. On February 2d, Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin—Candlemas—when tapers are lit, to signify faith and works—when a solemn procession adumbrates *advance*—when they commemorate the presentation of the child Jesus in the Temple, and sing, "The old man carried the child, but the child ruled the old man. Alleluia!"—on this day, a few young men from the best families in Lithuania and Russia presented themselves to be accepted as novices. With the fullest solemnity the Fathers gave them welcome; and in the moment when they put on the habit of the Company, the Company itself received a new investiture.

The point was gained; and from that day Jesuitism revived. The novices, then received, became chief actors in a renovation of the

* Cretineau-Joly, tome v., p. 482.

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Society, and played an active part in the intrigues and negotiations of Europe during the French Revolution; nor have they yet laid aside the character of politicians. Catherine rejoiced in what she fancied to be a victory over Pius; and Pius secretly rejoiced in being provided with a pretext for yielding to so powerful a Sovereign. She demanded this concession to her pleasure, on the consideration of five hundred thousand souls of the United Greek Rite, whom she could either persecute or favour, as might seem her good, according to the conduct of their spiritual chief. Very soon after the admission of the novices, she passed through Polotsk, and paid a visit to the college. Potemkin, who enjoyed the ignominious honour of being a favourite of the profligate Czarina, and who therefore travelled with her in the character of Aide-de-camp, was the chosen medium of communication between her and the Company. This person, with Father Czerniewicz, attended Her Majesty, in walking the rooms; the latter explaining the customs of the place. Then the Fathers and their novices knelt down in her presence, while Czerniewicz read an address in Latin, expressive of reverence, gratitude, and love to their Sovereign and benefactress; to whom, as they said, they owed more than life. Their Society spoke in the submissive and fervid language of a fugitive addressing one by whom refuge and shelter had been afforded in the hour of distress.

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"Tot pulsata malis, tot tempestatibus acta,
Expulsiata bonis, patris sedibus exul,
Felix quod mediis hunc portum nacta procellis."*

Catherine received their thanksgivings graciously, and commanded Czerniewicz to present her the novices ; those "young shoots" by whom the Society was again to flourish. Confident in her powers of government, and assured that the sympathies of the Company were with despotism, she calculated on obtaining their services for imparting a political education, not to the people in general, but to the youth of the higher classes, and to the rising priesthood, who should form the Romish part of the population. They accepted their commission from the despot, and set about instructing her vassals, and their own, in the science of obedience.

DISSIMULATION AND INTRIGUE.

If truth and the fear of God influenced the Pontiffs and their court, Rome would be far different from what it is ; but falsehood, inasmuch as it is essential to their doctrine, inevitably rules their practice. During seven years of nominal extinction they flourished in White Russia ; and all that Pius had now to do, was to hold on the mask for a little longer, and act out the illusion in the easiest and most effectual manner. He demanded a surrender of the ex-Jesuits.

* Historical and Philosophical Memoirs of Pius the Sixth, vol. i., p. 62.

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The Marquis of Antici, Minister of the King of Poland at Rome, (for still there was a personage who bore the title of King in that unhappy country, but in reality was no better than a dependent of Russia,) proposed a compromise. The ex-Jesuits, Antici represented, might be given up, and the Brief of Clement XIV. might be published in Russia by consent of Catherine. In that case, the members of the Company would change their habit and their name, but continue to pursue their labours. At Warsaw, the Nuncio, Archetti, favoured the scheme; and at Rome the Ambassadors of France and Naples did not object, but fancied that if the men were but unfrocked, and stripped of the title, this apparent humiliation of the order would satisfy Europe. Don Nicolas Azzara, however, being clearer sighted, protested, in the name of Spain, against the subterfuge; and, in presence of his opposition, it was not thought safe to renew a question that had been hushed so cleverly. The Holy Father whispered a few words of comfort into the ear of Antici, and this Minister reported that the project of conciliation could not be effected for the present. Meanwhile, the despatches of Archetti speak harshly of the Jesuits as if they were in disgrace, and the Cardinals confine the expression of their good wishes to private consistories and the Papal closet.

Some have said that Pius VI. did not read that ambiguous act of the Propaganda, which enabled the Bishop of Mohilow to revive the

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Society by the admission of novices. Perhaps not. Perhaps His Holiness only concurred in its composition, and purposely refrained from reading the last fair copy. It would be convenient for him to shelter himself under the shadow of a surprise, if the venture failed; and he did profess to be very angry with the Bishop. But Catherine supported the Bishop; and, after giving the Company time to rally, she took effectual measures to fulfil their common purpose. Potemkin, her gallant, had been indoctrinated by the Fathers as to their internal discipline, and had perused the "Constitutions" with lively admiration of the talent for government displayed by St. Ignatius, and the adaptation of his discipline to the purposes of an autocracy. He imagined that if his mistress could appropriate this agency to herself, it might be more effectual than the knout, and infinitely less unpopular. His enlightener, one of the Fathers, gave him to see that this end could not be compassed until the Company had *one* chief, *one* head of that spiritual department, clothed with authority over all the rest, and attached by a grateful responsibility to Her Majesty. He advised them to draw up a petition to that intent, and engaged to deliver it into her hand.

Catherine answered the prayer of their petition by an ukase, dated June 25th, 1782, and by an effect of her clemency permitted the Company of Jesus, *existing in her states*,—for she did

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not acknowledge any effect of a Papal Brief to be possible within her dominions,—to choose some one of their order to have the authority and power of General, to whom it might pertain to govern the other Superiors, and even to change them, according to their institute. She required the person thus nominated to be reported to the Latin Bishop of Mohilow, and by him to the imperial Senate, who would inform herself. The whole order was to be subject to the Bishop, in matter of right and duty; but the Bishop could only govern them in accordance with the laws of Russia. And nothing could be surer, than that the laws of Russia excluded all interference from without. Catherine was as much head of the Latins, as of Greeks, under her autocracy. The very last ukase preceding on their affairs, had subjected the followers of the Latin rite in all Russia to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of this Prelate, and renewed in language the most explicit and imperative the prohibition of Bulls, Briefs, and all other writings coming from Rome.*

Potemkin had not learnt his lesson from the Jesuits perfectly, or Catherine had spoiled the affair by adding her own conditions. To be subject to a Bishop was contrary to the spirit and letter of their Constitutions, and would be fatal to their independence. The Fathers assem-

* Die neuesten Zustände der Katholischen Kirche beider Ritus, p. 446.

bled in Congregation at Polotsk on October 10th, in virtue of her authority. Thirty-one Professed were there, ten others being unable to attend. The number could not have been so large, if they had not admitted some who had professed *since* the Brief of suppression, being only under the three vows at that time. They had no fear that flagrant contempt of the "celebrated memory" of Clement XIV. would expose them to any penalty. Without any very exquisite casuistry, they could say that it was "probable" that that Brief did not nullify their fourth vow. The doctrine of probabilism served them well.

Just as they were going to business, the Bishop himself sent them a decree from the Senate, which he also had obtained, declaring *him* to be their natural Superior, and expressing the assurance of the Senate that they would elect him, under the title of Vice-Provincial. Acting on this authority, Siestrzencewicz told them that they might receive from *him* authority to name a Vicar-General. And, imitating a custom of Princes in regard to the Conclave, he excluded the Rector Czerniewicz by name. This gave rise to sharp debate; and the Congregation resolved not to allow this Bishop to do what not even Popes had been able to compass, by controlling their election; yet, conscious of their dependence on his good offices, they made a concession of the title, retaining for themselves the substance of the office, and appointed a "Perpetual Vicar"



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instead of a Vicar-General, but invested with the full powers of General, until they could elect a General at Rome ; and placed in this dignity Father Czerniewicz, whom, under another name, the Bishop had excluded. The new Vicar instantly used his office, by the appointment of a Rector to a college, and a Secretary for himself.

On that very day, October 17th, a few hours after the election, their friend, patron, and agent, the Prince Potemkin, being on his way from Taurida, alighted at their college. They gathered round him as usual, showed him the decree of the Senate, varying from the ukase of the Czarina, if not contradicting it. "I know the author well enough," said he ; "but what can we now do, to make the best of this matter ? Is anything more wanted to sanction this act of yours which has been accomplished ?" Benilawski, already made coadjutor of the Bishop for White Russia, instantly replied : "We must get the ratification of the Pope."—"And how ?" asks Potemkin.—"Her Majesty has only to send a prudent person, one whom she can trust, to the Head of the Church, to make this request on part of the Empress, and there can be no doubt of success." Potemkin was plenipotentiary in this matter. He told Benilawski that he should be the man ; and in an instant the Jesuit found himself delegate to the threshold of the Apostles. This delegate, attended with two brethren, hastened away to Mohilow, told the

Prelate of his mission, and obtained, as they said, an acknowledgment that his interference with the Congregation had been ill-judged. They then proceeded to St. Petersburg to take credentials for the mission of Benilawski. Catherine gave him audience, accredited him as her messenger to the Pope, and charged him to demand sanction of the first act of the revived Jesuit Congregation. She further commissioned him to obtain from the fountain of spiritual honours a pall for the Bishop of Mohilow, in order that the Latin hierarchy might be established in Russia with greater dignity, always reserving to herself the prerogatives of ruling them in temporals, and giving the initiative, the *reto*, or the final sanction to their acts in Congregation or in Synod. The new "Vicar," whom Potemkin had summoned to receive the imperial confirmation of their choice, was also at St. Petersburg; and there the Society that had been given up as dead stood erect again, in the person of a new chief, whose mistress clothed it with the full privileges of a national institution.

And now a new scene opens in Rome. Catherine and Pius had been engaged in a correspondence that it is beside our purpose to relate, and that correspondence brought him into a position of perplexity. She had no notion of waiting on the tardy and uncertain deliberation of the churchmen at Rome; but considered that as she allowed half a million of United Greeks to

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exist within her states, she had an undoubted right to require their Chief Priest to sanction all her acts in regard to the appointment of Clergy and the management of external discipline. She had sometimes written him in as bland a style as a lady could employ; and again, she had spoken imperiously, just as she thought an Empress ought to speak. In writing an answer to a lordly letter apostolic, she had begun with the words, "*Catherine II., Empress of all the Russias, to Pius VI., Bishop of Rome, and Pope in his own district.*" Like a wise Pope, he had humbled himself in proportion to the haughtiness with which he was treated; and, in return, fawned upon "Her Imperial Majesty," a title he had not before condescended to employ. Apart, therefore, from his private wishes in regard to the Jesuits, he could not help treating Benilawski with respect.

This person came to demand canonical acknowledgment of the Jesuits in Russia, and found the Pope altogether theirs in heart. The ex-Jesuits Zaccaria and Ambrogio, eminent for fanaticism, enjoyed his confidence, and he loved their counsels. Benilawski, therefore, found prompt admission to the Papal presence; and, in the quality of Minister of Russia, gave Pius an autograph letter from the Empress:—

"I know that Your Holiness is under considerable embarrassments; but fear is little suitable to your character. Your dignity

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cannot harmonise with politics, so long as politics are at variance with religion. The motives which have induced me to grant protection to the Jesuits are founded in reason and justice, as well as in the hope of their becoming useful to my estates. This assemblage of peaceable and inoffensive men *shall live in my empire*; because, of all Catholic Societies, they are the best qualified to instruct my subjects, and to inspire them with sentiments of humanity, and the genuine principles of the Christian religion. I am resolved to support these Priests against every power whatever; and, in so doing, I only perform my duty, as I am their Sovereign, and look upon them as faithful, useful, and innocent subjects. I am so much the more desirous to see four of them invested with the power of confirming at Moscow and Petersburg, because the two Catholic Churches of those cities are confided to their care. Who can tell whether Providence is not going to make these pious men the instruments of effecting the union, so long desired, between the Greek and Roman Churches? Let Your Holiness banish all apprehension; for I am determined to maintain, to the full extent of my power, the rights which you have received from Jesus Christ.” *

For a moment Pius hesitated, fearful of Spain and France; and the Ambassadors, wondering to

* History of Catherine II., Empress of Russia, by J. Castéra, book x.

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see a Minister accredited from Russia, manifested great anxiety to know the subject of his communications. The Pope himself told it them, (and even justified the proceeding of the Russian Prelate in restoring the novitiate,)—they transmitted the intelligence to their courts ; but the Sovereigns, not being prepared to hazard a new complication with Russia, said nothing openly. So long as the Jesuits were in the power of Rome, the interference of Rome could be demanded by their enemies ; but when an absolute Monarch chose to employ them in her own states, the law of nations did not seem to justify foreign interference. For *their* satisfaction, however, Pius issued a Brief to his Nuncios abroad, declaring null whatever had been done contrary to the act of Clement XIV. For the satisfaction of Catherine, and for his own, he sent Archetti, his Nuncio at Warsaw, to St. Petersburg, there to consecrate the Bishop of Mohilow Archbishop, and to assist at the elevation of the Jesuit Benilawski to the dignity of Bishop. The Empress, delighted at his complaisance, asked yet another favour, even the admission of Archetti to the Sacred College, in reward for his services to her, through the Society of Jesus. The prayer was accepted, and he was accordingly transformed into a Cardinal. As for the Jesuit Ambassador, he had felt himself sure of success from the beginning. On his way towards Rome he showed rescripts of the reign-

ing Pope, all favourable to his order; and on reaching the city, bought a cross and a pastoral ring, and had himself painted in Bishop's robes, in anticipation of the dignity expected.

One word by the way concerning the archiepiscopal see of Mohilow. Catherine had already erected it by an ukase of January 17th, 1782. She maintained that the Pope could have no right to erect a see in Russia, and was careful to thank him only for bestowing the *pallium* on a man of great merit, whom *she confirmed* in the possession of his office. She addressed the Pope as a *puissant Prince*,—not as the supreme Pontiff, that being a personage whom she did not know. By the same ukase she had constituted the Jesuit his coadjutor, on whom Pius bestowed a profoundly significant title, making him Bishop of Gadara *in partibus*. Before the consecration of the new Archbishop, Archetti was asked what oath he would be required to take. The usual form of oath, as prescribed in the Pontifical, was produced; and Catherine absolutely refused to allow any ecclesiastic in her dominions to swear those words, *Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles, persequar et impugnabo*,—"Heretics, schismatics, and rebels, will I persecute and attack." The clause was cancelled, and is never heard within the boundaries of the Russian empire, that jealously maintains its independence from the Roman See.

But to return to Rome. Benilawski had much private conversation with the Pope, and made

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him fully acquainted with the proceedings of his brethren in White Russia. As yet the ring of the Fisherman could not be set to any writing in their favour ; but the oracle was not mute. In the presence of Benilawski he pronounced these well-sufficient words : *Approbo Societatem Jesu in Albâ Russiâ degentem.* APPROBO, APPROBO. "I approve of the Society of Jesus dwelling in White Russia. I approve, I approve." And the Father lost not an hour in hastening to St. Petersburg with intelligence of these "three victorious words."

Now the revival of the Company began at Rome in earnest. Everything was made contributive to this one event. The admirers of a deceased Bishop, Palafox, eminent as an object of Jesuitical hatred, were pushing hard for his canonisation, and already named him *venerable*. While Benilawski travelled towards Rome, the Jesuits were preparing a candidate of their own to compete with Palafox for the honours of saintship. One Labre, a ragged beggar, lately deceased, who had moved unmarked among the mendicants that infest the streets of Rome, they made competitor for a place in the Roman paradise. He had as much piety, no doubt, as most of his superiors ; and some touches of immorality, discovered by the opposite party, were not thought sufficiently dark to spoil the general image of sanctity. Pius professed to hang in doubt between the two candidates, but in reality

preferred the Jesuits' beggar to the rival Bishop. The bed on which Labre had stretched his filthy limbs was carried reverentially into the Vatican, and thereupon the Holy Father laid himself every night, by a grand effort of humility. The whole "Catholic world" rang with the name of Labre. People heard of an incorrupt carcase—odour of sanctity—the bed—the Pope—the ex-Jesuits. And the ex-Jesuits hailed him, too, as venerable. One of these zealots, Zaccaria, led the farce; and the Congregation of Sacred Rites collected, from all that would bring it, evidence that the French beggar had wrought miracles in his life, and in his death saw not corruption. This *venerable* was beatified by the Congregation of Rites in the year 1792, and thus, enrolled among the canonically blessed, awaited the highest honours of the saintship.

Somehow or other, the Jesuits made his affair their own, and managed to have that name associated with the name of Labre, which had been formerly associated with the Seville bankruptcy, the gunpowder plot, insurrections, poisonings, and crimes perpetrated on the living and the dead. By favour of their new-made *blessed*, these things were almost forgotten.

In Russia, too, nurtured into new life by their foster-mother Catherine II., and her favourite, Potemkin, they contemplated a grand Missionary scheme, to identify their company with the out-spreading of that empire; and offered them-

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selves, in return for the kindness done them, to instruct newly-conquered tribes in the doctrine of submission to their mistress at St. Petersburg. Of course, Russian troops would open their way, and their Mission-stations would be constructed under the range of Russian guns. Their willingness to render service of the kind was known at the Hermitage, and the Fathers at Polotsk, with inexpressible delight, received an order from their protectress to teach novices the Tartar and the Kuban languages, that they might pursue the vocation of politico-religious emissaries in the Crimea and the Caucasus. It is rather surprising that the ukase of Peter the Great that expelled them from Russia was still in force, and that they were not at this time allowed to have establishments beyond the Polish provinces in Russia Proper. The Empress resolved to keep them entirely in her own hands, and make them feel their dependence on herself; and they were quite willing to submit, as a corporation, to restrictions that might not outlast a single life. They calculated on immortality; for corporations die not by the demise of individuals, and therefore outlive such restrictions.

An earnest, too, of new fortune came to them from Italy. Ferdinand, Duke of Parma, from which state the Society had been expelled, having secretly undertaken to reverse the doom, laid the foundations of a new Society, wrote to the Vicar-General, under date of July 23d, 1793,

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transmitting the letter through the hands of the Empress, to tell him that he had long desired to restore the Society in his dukedom. The loss of it, he said, had been a source of many evils to the Church and to monarchies. For his own part, he had maturely weighed every consideration, and, having effected the arrangements necessary to remove obstacles, and make the way clear, had begun to reassemble the dispersed members. Everything answered his expectations, and now the Duke offered those "states" to his paternity, that there the Company might have a cradle for its second birth. "The Company already exists in a certain number of its members, whom to perpetuate nothing more is wanting than the religious life, in community under a legitimate Superior." He invited the Vicar to take these children under his care, acknowledge them for his own, and incorporate them with the remnant that, by a wondrous disposition of Providence, the Empress, his Sovereign, had preserved. He begs him to send one of his religious, furnished with sufficient powers to form a new province, and open a novitiate." This gives the affair a new character, and throws light clear as day upon the new position. There was evidently a wide-spread combination, headed by the Pope himself, to revive Jesuitism by stealth.

Archetti, who had been formerly thought unfriendly to the Jesuits, as he made a show of opposition to blind the representatives of other

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courts, now received an express injunction from his master, not to touch the Jesuits—*ne tangas Jesuitas*.^{*} Italian Jesuits stole away to the White Russian colleges. On the 1st of April, 1784, one Magnani writes from Polotsk that five of them have come, and three more are expected. They are linguists, painters, poets, and architects; and Magnani would say much of their qualifications and their projects if premature disclosure were not imprudent, and “he must keep the secret of a King.” He just ventures to intimate that great hope reposes in a certain confraternity of “the Heart of Jesus.” But one of their most strenuous workmen was the above-mentioned Benilawski, Bishop of Gadara, of whom we have a brief but instructive sketch from the pen of a high authority.[†] “He is a person of solid piety, holy life, of exemplary and edifying conduct, exceedingly devoted to the Holy See, and exceedingly zealous for the observance of the Canons, in the discipline of the Church, and the real advantages of religion.” Devotion to the Roman See and love of Canon law, as I judge from the strong family likeness of all the fair portraits drawn by this hand, con-

^{*} *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*, 1787, Dec. 18th.

[†] *Relazione dello Stato Attuale delle Chiese Cattoliche esistenti nell’ Impero Russo, e degli affari trattati in tempo della Legazione Apostolica da S. E. Monsignore Arezzo, Arcivescovo di Seleucia, e Ambasciadore Straordinario della S. Sede presso l’ Imperial Corte di Pietroburgo.* Additional MSS. 1782—1835, British Museum.

stituted the solid piety of Benilawski. The Legate goes on to say that he was a member of "the so-called Ecclesiastical College," appointed by the Crown to direct the affairs of religion in Russia, but was in danger of being sent to Siberia, on the charge of unwillingness to submit to the imperial ukases, "and of addiction to Roman and rebellious maxims."

Notwithstanding the absence of any public recognition by the Pope, the Society avowed its corporate existence with no small ostentation. The Rectors of colleges sent out papers with official seals; and when their first Vicar-General died in 1785, they inserted a notice of the event in the Warsaw Gazette, with a description of their establishment in White Russia, observing that the Bull of suppression could have no effect in states where it had not been published. The Cardinals of the Propaganda received two young Russians for education in their college, with a certification, under the hand of "Joseph, *of the Society of Jesus*, President of Studies," that they had frequented a Congregation in the college of Polotsk, and shown marks of piety and devotion. The second Vicar-General, Gabriel Lenkiewicz, styled himself "Administrator of the Generalate," and under that title published at Vienna a catalogue of "the Members of the Company of Jesus, and of the charges they occupy in White Russia, for the year 1786." This catalogue was printed in the Archbishop's press, and had the imperial licence.

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Yet the Court of Rome denied their own doings without scruple. Three months after honouring the certificate of Father Joseph of Polotsk they inserted the following disclaimer in the *Diario di Roma* :—" We have read in the *Gazetta Universale*" (of Florence) "that, in virtue of a decree sent from Rome to Mgr. the Archbishop of Mohilow, the false Jesuits of White Russia reside there in immediate dependence on the Pope and their Vicar-General, respectively. But we think it our duty to inform the public, and we are authorised to do so, that this is no more than a supposition of the author of this Gazette, or of some other person who has furnished him with intelligence destitute of all foundation." After the election of Lenkiewicz to succeed to the Generalate of the Society, some persons had said that the Pope sanctioned the act of the White Russian Congregation. It is not likely that he did more than connive at it; and therefore they could catch at the occasion to deny, in the same organ, the "pretended consent of the Pope" to the election of the successor of the "pretended Vicar-General," lately dead. Already, under date of October 2d, 1785, a similar disavowal had been sent to each of the Ambassadors, and seems to have quieted them, as we hear of no more remonstrances.*

About this time the name of Gabriel Gruber

* *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*, 1785, Aug. 25th; 1786, March 27th.

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makes its appearance. How long he had been in Russia I cannot say. It is enough to note that he was born at Vienna, in Austria, in the year 1740 ; became learned in rhetoric, history, mathematics, chemistry, architecture, and music. At one time he delivered lectures in medicine, in which faculty he was doctor. Maria Theresa, of Austria, then employed him also to superintend the dock-yard of Trieste, and to drain marshes in Hungary and Sclavonia. After these various occupations, the Jesuit found his way to Polotsk, and became known to Catherine. But the son of Catherine, afterwards Paul I., was kept at a distance from his mother—the murderess of his father ; and Gruber was permitted, or more probably employed, to reside with him, or to visit him. But Gruber and Skakowski, already summoned to St. Petersburg by Her Majesty, were occupied by her in labours “that have always remained a mystery, even to the Jesuits themselves.”* One thing is, however, certain, that Gruber managed to attach himself very strongly to the future Emperor. The affairs of the Society were settled. The reiterated disclaimers of the Pope and his court blinded Europe. Many of the facts now related were then concealed, and the Company had nothing more to do than to follow their calling quietly, and bide their time for further opportunities.

As a skilful diver, having disappeared beneath

* Cretineau-Joly, tome vi., chap. 7.

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the waves, sends not up so much as a hubble to the surface to show that he yet exists, but nevertheless persists in the fulfilment of his toil, and at length emerges far beyond the point where he was last visible, so does Gruber vanish from our view, working in the depth.

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Twelve noiseless years elapsed, while the Fathers prepared in secret materials for a new fabric. Novices grew up to full age, and professed. Scholastics qualified themselves for Missions. Artists and men of science strove to mould the education of the nobility into a new shape, so far as the jealousy of the Greek priesthood would suffer. Gruber and his companion mingled with the courtiers, and surrendered themselves to services which Jesuitism had learned that it would be most prudent to hide in silence. Vanity like that of Chinese Missioners, which unveiled the doings of their chief in the harem and the imperial closet of Peking, was checked by the Propaganda; and records of the labours of Gruber are either buried in the archives of the Society, if existing, or are lost in oblivion.

Catherine died suddenly, on the 5th of November, 1796, and "this unexpected death left the Jesuits orphans." The Grand Duke, living in private at Moscow, or at his country house at

Gatchina, had known the Jesuits as educators, and persons ready to make themselves agreeable; and it would seem that Gruber shared pretty largely in his good opinion. But there was a question abroad whether he would follow his mother's policy; and, much more, whether he would adopt her favourites. As soon as he heard of his mother's illness, he hastened to St. Petersburg, but found her speechless; and in the evening of the same day she died. Soon as the breath left her body, the long-neglected son caused himself to be proclaimed Paul I. To mark his abhorrence of the crime that made him fatherless, he caused the tomb of Peter III. to be opened, his coffin brought out, and the imperial crown, that he had brought from Moscow for that very purpose, placed upon it. The remains of the murderous mother and the murdered father were laid side by side; and a large love-knot joined the coffins, with an inscription in Russian,—*In life divided. In death united.* The two assassins, Alexis Orloff, and Prince Baratinski, who had survived their crime, and eaten its reward for thirty-five years, were summoned to St. Petersburg, and made to appear in mourning for three hours, on each side of the coffin of the Prince whom they had murdered. This display of indignation, couched in irony, and marking no less his abhorrence of his mother's profligacy than filial reverence towards his father, filled the court with dread; and the minions of Catherine looked

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for nothing less than ruin. The Jesuits shared, or seemed to share, in the same feeling; and under the profound silence observed by Paul as to the policy he intended to pursue, they were not at liberty to make any show of confidence. He said nothing against the Society, neither did he say anything for it. The court waited his word, no one daring to have a mind of his own in regard to the strangers, whom he was to love or hate as the supreme pleasure might determine; and the Fathers were supposed to endure this terror of annihilation for not less than half a year.

After his coronation at Moscow, Paul I., returning to St. Petersburg on May 7th, passed through a place called Orcha, where the Jesuits had a college. Seizing the occasion, a considerable number of them went in procession to meet him, headed by the Vicar-General Lenkiewicz, attended by Gruber. Lenkiewicz was known to the Emperor by reason of his position, and Gruber commended himself by recollections of past communication. The reception was gracious; and they were gladdened by an assurance that no change would be made in their situation, and that they might continue their labours for the propagation of knowledge.

Notwithstanding the silence of Paul, he had chosen his course; and there is the strongest reason to suppose that he was influenced by the

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very men who met him, as for the first time, at Orcha. All his proceedings were congenial with their tastes, and accordant to their principles. Three months before this interview (February, 1797), he had suppressed, at a stroke, all unlicensed printing-offices in the empire, and established a censorship. Just one month before (April 5th), he issued a proclamation for the strict observance of the Lord's day ; and, although, to our apprehension, such a proclamation would indicate piety, every one who observes the ordinary movements of the priestly party on the continent of Europe well understands that the obligation to go to mass on Sunday, and to abstain from certain kinds of labour, bears no analogy to real Sabbath-keeping, and is a mere badge of submission to ecclesiastical authority. He commanded all foreigners in Russia to profess the religion in which they were born ; and especially directed the Romanists to pay a scrupulous attention to the precepts of their Church. By an ukase, published in several languages,—and, for the preparation of this document, Russia could furnish no secretaries equal to the Jesuits,—he commanded them all, under penalty of being treated as rebels, “to approach the sacred sacrament of penance, and to prepare themselves for receiving the body of the Saviour at Easter.”* Mass-houses, hitherto deserted, were

* Ash Wednesday fell, in 1797, on the 1st day of March. This ukase, evidently written in view of Lent,

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suddenly filled. French, German, Italian, and Polish Priests again entered the long-unoccupied confessionals. Before each confessional the penitent, so called, found a box with a perforated lid; and as he knelt to disclose his faults to the Confessor, he was required to drop a paper into it, with his own name, trade or profession, and address. These papers were collected every day, and carried to the Emperor, who can scarcely be supposed to have examined them, and must therefore have employed some one accustomed to secret service. Nor was there any one better fitted for such work than the confidential servants of the preceding reign, Gruber and Skakowski. The person confessed received a ticket of absolution, signed by the Priest, which admitted him to the altar. The same ticket served for a *carte de sûreté*, or certificate for the satisfaction of the police, to whom it was exhibited when required. Inn-keepers and landlords were held responsible for the devotions of their inmates, and had to report to the police those who did not go to church, or who presumed to wear pantaloons, round hats, or waistcoats of a particular fashion (*gilets croisés*). I may be excused from fathoming the reason of this last regulation. The sick were empowered to exact the attendance of the could not have appeared later than February. The pro-Popish influence must therefore have been exerted while the Jesuits were pretending to be uncertain of their fate.

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Priests, and the poor were to claim a gratuitous administration of the last sacrament.*

Paul and Pius grew diligent in the cultivation of a mutual good opinion; and the latter, instead of persecuting and putting down the former, as the doctrine of his Church required, repaid his good offices towards the members of the Roman rite, by issuing a Brief to confirm the act of the Knights of Malta, by which they chose him for Grand-Master, and added a Greek priorate to the order of St. John. Empty compliments! Five months before signing that Brief, Pius VI. knew that the vanquished Knights had ceded the island by capitulation to Buonaparte, and that the order was no more."†

France was now revolutionised, and the conflagration of war swept over all Europe. We cannot turn aside into the turbulent history of that period; but the single note, that Russia was united with England, Austria, and Italy, in war against Buonaparte, is a key to the position of the Romanists. Paul, although called a schismatic at Rome, was welcomed as a friend of Pius VI., and the Jesuits used this conjuncture to forward their own interests.

Diplomacy is counted among the acquirements

* *Mémoires Secrets sur la Russie, et particulièrement sur la Fin du Règne de Catherine II., et sur celui de Paul I.* Paris, 1804, tom. i., p. 215; iii., p. 414, 422.

† *Die Neuesten Zustände der Katholischen Kirche beider Ritus*, p. 473.

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of Gruber, and with reason. His diplomatic talent came into effective application at the close of the campaign of 1799. A Russian army, under the command of Suwarrow, shared in the discomfiture of the allies that were beaten by the First Consul, who followed up the victory by intrigue. He knew that Paul I. was dissatisfied with the Emperor of Austria, and in such a mood as to receive any insinuations to his discredit. He also knew that the alliance of the Russian Emperor with England was not very cordial; and he learned from spies whom to employ for acting on a mind thus affected. Gruber was his man. To him he wrote under the seal of most profound secrecy, and with a confidence that must have been sustained by proof that the Jesuit was no less willing than able to execute such a commission. To quicken his diligence, he gave him to understand, that success would be rewarded by favour towards the Society. In prospect of so powerful friendship, our diplomatist became secret agent of the conqueror of Europe, and in that capacity found his way to the ear of the Russian. But for unfair treatment, he insisted, Suwarrow would not have been driven into a perilous position in Switzerland; and as for the Russian soldiers, every one knew that their iron valour would have carried all before them, if they had only been allowed fair play by the Austrians. Francis of Germany, he said, was ambitious, and

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more intent on getting a large share in the partition of territory, than on leaving room for the contingents of his allies to act freely in the field. As for England, he reminded the Emperor of her insolence in claiming dominion on the seas, and of the jealousy entertained of England by Catherine. He stated that Buonaparte had commissioned him to make an overture of peace. The First Consul instructed him to say that, having come home triumphant from the campaigns of Egypt and Italy, he sighed for peace. He now desired to raise up the thrones which had fallen during the shocks of revolution; his ambition would be satisfied if he could but establish the principle of order in Europe, and he would even consent to the restoration of the Bourbons, concerning which negotiations were actually in progress. Proof of magnanimity, as Paul might think, appeared, just at that conjuncture, in the arrival of a large number of Russian soldiers, who had been made prisoners in Switzerland and Holland, but were paid, fed, and sent back to their master at the cost of France.

"This action seemed generous, and a fit pledge of good intentions for the future. Moved by all this, the Sovereign of Russia, transferring his ill humour (for he was hasty in his resolutions) from France to England, and not discerning (for he was himself an honest man) what lurked under the Consul's fair words, took him

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into his friendship, surrendered himself to his arts, and, declaring that he would have nothing more to do with the league, recalled his troops that were still in Germany. Then, the hopes that had been given him urging him yet more and more, he renewed the compact of the north against the maritime power of England, expelled the agents of King George from Petersburg, and accused the English of having occasioned the disastrous issue of the Dutch expedition. Thus did Paul, detaching himself from the friendship of Austria and England, rush headlong into that of France. All regarded this change as one of the greatest importance; and, indeed, it contributed powerfully to the exaltation of Consul Buonaparte.”*

“Gruber became one of the most active agents in this negotiation, which raised his credit yet higher in the eyes of Paul I.”†

The Pope had been made prisoner in the Vatican, and carried thence from prison to prison, until finally lodged in Valence, a town of Dauphiny, where he died in the year 1799. Meanwhile the Russian autocrat had pushed his patronage too far to please the Romish Clergy, who found themselves under the stern jurisdiction of a temporal Prince, their own Sovereign being himself a captive. In time of peace there

* *Storia d'Italia*, dal 1789 al 1814, scritta da Carlo Botta, lib. xix.

† *Cretineau-Joly*, tom. v., chap. 7.

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would have been long and angry negotiation between the courts: as it was, a short and sharp quarrel at St. Petersburg was the only consequence. The Cardinal Litta, Nuncio at that court, undertook to instruct the Emperor as to his incapacity to rule the Romish Clergy; and the Emperor, indignant at this insolence, commanded him instantly to depart from his dominions.

Gruber, alarmed at the breach, hastened to throw himself at the feet of Paul, and implore him to forgive the Nuncio, and be assured that it was never his intention to repay with insolence the debt contracted by the Apostolic See to the imperial house of Romanhoff. Gruber now appeared as a diplomatist, not indeed accredited, for there was not, just then, any means of issuing credentials. The Pope was dead, the Roman Court scattered, the Church without a head on earth,—certainly without a head in heaven,—and no Conclave, nor any spot where the Cardinals could claim the right of assembling to choose a head. But Gruber conceived the hope of providing the vagrant Cardinals with accommodation, and putting them in the way of creating a Pope, who might be able and willing to repay the service by favours to himself and to his Company. He pointed out to His Majesty the wisdom of coming forward in this emergency as Protector of the Holy See, and, as he had already given an asylum to the best

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soldiers of the Papacy, of affording all the routed host a rallying-point, and then engaging the weight of their influence until the termination of this war. The Jesuit, elate with confidence, wrote words of comfort to his friends; and soon there came a letter from Rezzonico, a Venetian Senator, with overtures from "the Catholic Church," and a prayer that the Emperor of Russia would favour the holding of a Conclave for the election of a new Pope. The proposal was welcomed, through the mediation of Gruber; and Europe saw with amazement a member of the banished Company negotiating for the banished Papacy, and a schismatic Prince, whom the Church of Rome periodically cursed, returning good for evil, for the sake, as he imagined, of maintaining those principles of government which were common to both parties, and which both parties were identifying with the higher principle of all good government, then outraged by the French republic, as afterwards by the French empire. The necessity of the time compelled Greek and Roman to embrace. With consent of Austria also, the Conclave met in Venice; and, on March 14th, 1800, the Cardinal Chiaramonti came forth under the name of Pius VII. In the first week of July, this Pope was in Rome; and Buonaparte, calculating on the value of a Pope in such times, was not unwilling to allow him to resume the chair, with at least the honours of a Pontiff, and if not with the emoluments and

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power of a Prince, yet with the shadow of princely dignity.

No sooner did the intelligence of this restoration reach the northern court, than Paul, as if resolved not to be outrun by his Corsican rival in the race after ecclesiastical adherents, despatched the following letter to His Holiness:—“Most Holy Father,—The reverend Gabriel Gruber, of the *Company of Jesus*, having represented to me that the members of the said Company desire to be recognised by Your Holiness, I think it right to solicit, formally, an act of approbation, in favour of this institute, for which I profess a particular attachment. And I hope that my recommendation will not be unavailing on their behalf.” This was dated, August 11th, 1800. To refuse this request was hardly possible; but to accede to it without reserve would have been to brave the general repugnance of the courts in communion with Rome, and to stir up discontent among the Clergy themselves. However, a Congregation of four Cardinals, nominated for the purpose, found the middle way; and on March 7th, 1801, Pius VII. signed the Brief *Catholicæ fidei*, which reconstituted, for Russia only, the Company which Clement XIV. had been compelled to abolish, and which Pius VI. could not openly and entirely revive.

This Brief was addressed to Francis Karen, then Vicar-General, and acknowledges him to be “Superior of the Congregation of the Society of

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Jesus in the Russian Empire." After the usual recitation of acts preceding, the new Pope makes respectful mention of the zeal of those members of the extinct Society, who longed to teach, and preach, and administer the holy sacraments. He expresses great deference towards the most clement Emperor, who had importunately prayed him to restore those brethren to corporate existence, and fortify them with apostolical authority while he made use of them for the spiritual care and instruction of his "Catholic" subjects. Karen, too, had addressed humble prayers to the Pontiff, asking that his fraternity might be placed on the same level as other regular bodies, by re-investiture with its original privileges. The request of Paul is acknowledged, however, to be that of greatest weight; and considering that diversity of times, places, and persons, demands change of counsels, the Pope releases Karen and his companions from all canonical sentences and censures; and, using the prerogative of the Vicegerent of Heaven to raise up the fallen, sets them again in honour. But the grace is limited, inasmuch as the revival may take place "only within the Russian empire, and nowhere beyond." We also discern an effort of this Pope to take advantage of the occasion to assert a power of direct control over the Society, such as the old Jesuits had uniformly and successfully resisted; for he "deputes and constitutes" Karen Superior or

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General, (*Præses*, not *Præpositus*, as formerly,) instead of empowering the Professed to assemble and choose a General, or instead of acknowledging him as already elected by them. And, after having confirmed and approved the primitive rule of St. Ignatius, and given the members of the revived community full powers for the performance of all sacred offices, and taken them all, singly and collectively, under the immediate protection and *subjection* of the Holy See, he reserved to himself and his successors the power of *reformation*, if reformation should ever become necessary. These cautions indicate, clearly enough, the persuasion entertained at Rome, that although the Ignatian army was the chief defence of Papal prerogative, and more successful than all other bodies put together for the extension of Papal conquests, their General was not thought fit to be intrusted with so much power as his predecessors. The Pope explicitly appointed him as his mere delegate, instead of acknowledging any power in the Jesuits themselves to elect a chief.

The Brief confirming the Society in Russia could scarcely have reached Karen, when a band of conspirators deprived Paul I. of his life; and here ends our notice of his patronage conferred upon the Company.

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By this time the Jesuits are in their glory. During the two preceding reigns they offered

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themselves to serve the Sovereign to the utmost extent of their ability. The versatile talent and the unshrinking conscience of the Company were first placed at the devotion of a woman, equally notorious for a strong faculty of government, for ambition, and for profligacy; then at the service of a man, in whom impetuosity supplied the place of energy, and whose depression in youth must have disqualified him, in the absence of high intellectual character, for the discharge of imperial functions. Besides this, he had been Romanised by Gruber, and his first acts, on ascending the throne, were those of a bigot. Under such Monarchs, and in return for such services, the Jesuits received more than compensation, and grew rich in salaries and grants. They possessed estates, lived on the revenues, and exercised the rights of lordship over serfs. The inmates of a college lived on the rents, the contributions, and the services of a village. Inebriated with draughts from this reservoir of wealth and power, and fully imbued with the spirit of Russian tyranny, which, being exercised by themselves, kept up in the people the dread of Jesuit domination, that was but thinly masked under a meek exterior of obedience, they employed force, whenever practicable, for the propagation of their sect. As yet, indeed, it was too early to enter into open competition with the Russo-Greek Church; but having received authority to act as Missioners, they used it unsparingly upon the Jews. In the year

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1801, it became necessary for local authorities to interfere so far as to take Jewish children from one of the Jesuit houses, and restore them to their parents. The laws of Russia forbade proselytism ; but they left no art untried for the evasion of those laws.

Alexander I. succeeded to Paul towards the end of March, 1801. He did not adopt the Jesuits with so great precipitation as his father, but showed them favour from the first ; and, by an ukase issued in the November following, established a distinct Ecclesiastical Court for the government of Romanists in Russia ; thus giving them a national existence. That college was not, indeed, a Jesuit institution ; but it served the Society as a platform for the prosecution of their plans ; and one of their number, Benilawski, so conducted himself as a member of the college, that the Archbishop, as President, repeatedly threatened to turn him out, and send him to Siberia. He was wont to resist the execution of ukases emanating from the Emperor, and to maintain "Roman and rebellious maxims." Yet we have heard the Legate Arezzo, who drew up a confidential report for the information of Pius VII. and his Consistory, describe this man as "a person of solid piety, of holy life, of exemplary and edifying conduct, exceedingly devoted to the Holy See, and exceedingly zealous for the observance of the canons, for the discipline of the Church, and for the true advantages of religion."*

* *Relazione*, &c., cited above, p. 351.

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Gruber, having access to the new Emperor by means of some office at court, managed to make sure of his protection. As yet, the revolution which ended the reign and the life of Paul, had suspended the admission of the Brief of Restoration, and it was not thought prudent to hazard the consequences of a denial, by asking Alexander to recognise that document while it yet remained uncertain whether it would consist with his policy so to do. An occasion, however, soon occurred for bringing the work to consummation. Karen, the Vicar-General, lay sick in the college of Polotsk, when Alexander was in that city. His Majesty honoured the college with his presence; and as the chief could not take his place at the head of the establishment, to pay the honours of reception, he condescended to visit him in his chamber. This mark of imperial favour inspired Gruber with confidence to solicit the admission of the Brief; and as the Pope had not issued it *proprio motu*, but at the direct request of Paul I., the present occupant of the throne saw no reason to refuse confirmation to the will of his predecessor.

Six weeks had just elapsed after the honour done to Karen, when that Jesuit expired; and on the last day of July, 1802, Wichert, the senior member of the Society, found himself at liberty to convoke his brethren the Professed. The assemblage took place on the 4th of October, and, after the deliberations of a week, they agreed to

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nominate Gabriel Gruber General of the Company. The Emperor, in his Council of Justice, ratified the choice, and Father Gabriel hastened to St. Petersburg, to pay court to Alexander, and to occupy his new station in the metropolis of Russia, of the Church, and henceforth of the Society also; and not only of the Society in Russia, but, eventually, throughout the world. There he associated himself intimately with the Count Joseph Le Maistre, Sardinian Ambassador. These two, availing themselves of all the facilities of diplomatic intercourse, and the advantages of ecclesiastical influence and relations, paved the way for the return of Jesuitism to the counsels of Princes, and to the hearths of peasants, wherever a political reaction could be effected, and wherever Protestant simplicity furnished opportunity for the prosecution of their schemes.

England first felt the authority of Gruber. In England the Bull of Clement XIV. could not be published; and therefore the Jesuits of the British province felt themselves untouched by it, except as they were deprived of a foreign General. When secret communication took place, in 1786, between Rome and Russia, the English Jesuits had expressed a wish to unite themselves with their brethren abroad. The Vice-General, however, unwilling to complicate his position by entering into premature relations, advised them to relinquish the idea of such a union. But when Pius VII. restored the Russian Jesuits in

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1800, the English and Irish again asked for incorporation; and Gruber, on his election to the seat of General, prayed the Pope to permit them to become one body with the Russians, and share, even unto death, in the conflicts and the triumph of their Church. That favour was granted joyfully; and the General instructed Father William Strickland to elevate Father Marmaduke Stone, Rector of the new English college, to the rank of a Professed Member of the Society, and then to make him Provincial of Great Britain and Ireland. This was done (none suspecting the existence of such a combination) on the 23d day of May, 1803. "Scarcely did intelligence transpire of the reconstitution of the order in England, when all the old Jesuits began to congregate at Stoneyhurst, happy again to take up the yoke of the rules of St. Ignatius. Among the most earnest were distinguished the Fathers Thomas Stanley, Peter O'Brien, — Lawson, — Jenkins, Edward Church, and Joseph Reeve, of whom," says Cretineau-Joly, "the names are dear to the Catholics, and precious to youth. Charles and Robert Plowden, Thomas Reeve, — Lewis, James Leslie, Edward Howard, — Price, — Johnson, and a certain number of young Priests, reinforced the cohort that then was raised." * These all received the commands, and bowed to the authority, of an enemy of England. The man

* Cretineau-Joly, tom. vi., chap. 2.

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who, at St. Petersburg, first suggested to the Emperor that he should break faith with England, and enter into an armed league to destroy our commerce,—the same man who still breathed hostile counsels into the ear of our enemy,—was exercising direct control over a body of men who lurked in secrecy among us, ready to fling the brands of sedition at a moment's warning, and to mingle in the tumults of political faction, and to do this with the more terrible effect, at the time when we were involved in the perils of war. England was trembling with dread of an invasion by Buonaparte; and one of his hired and most trusty agents was exercising an unseen, but most effective, ecclesiastical jurisdiction in this country.

The Emperor, for his part, resolved to make the best use of this fraternity. He knew that the colleges were intended to be seats of Propagandism, religious and political, with emissaries dispatched even to the outskirts of his empire. Following out this idea, he saw that abundant use might be made of them in provinces not contemplated at first. On the banks of the Volga, just then, rose a new colony; where a mixed multitude of Russian colonists, Tartars, Cossacks, and fugitives from all parts of the barbarian north, displaced the original nomadic race that had for ages pitched their tents all over the unbroken pasture-land. This was the Government of Saratow. Here boiled every element of confusion, and here was mingled every

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difficulty that could present itself to those who essayed their skill in government, unguided by experience. Here the Jesuits might labour as hard as they pleased for conversion of Mohammedans and Pagans, without infringing any law concerning proselytism or seduction. Here they might—if they could—instruct the new settlers in the practice of agriculture, and adapt the yoke of Scythian despotism to the less unwilling neck of youth, to be borne less impatiently by manhood. Here their incomparable faculty of adaptation might endeavour to lay hold on the heterogeneous materials that refused, as yet, to be blended into one mass; and their chief, Gruber, a courtier, pledged to subserve the pleasure of his master on the throne, and apparently at the mercy of this master, could not possibly do otherwise than enjoin on his emissaries, under holy obedience, to pursue such a course of conduct as would be in harmony with the proceedings and the pleasure of the civil, or, to speak more correctly, the military, rulers of the colony. “The mission was difficult. It would be necessary to accustom to Russian laws families that could have no other point of contact. To individual isolation the Fathers would have to substitute, by slow degrees, love of a new country, and to inspire with a religious sentiment and love of labour wandering hordes, whose indigence was ever urging them to change.”*

* Cretineau-Joly, tom. v., chap. 7.

accepted the mission, and anticipated the gratification of their love of enterprise, with acquisition of new power, and an increase of renascent fame.

While the Mission of Saratow was in prospect, the General and his helpers despatched an envoy to the Court of Rome. Feeling their importance as a corporation, existing under the highest sanctions, they sent one Cajetano Angiolini, in the habit of a Jesuit, to represent their wishes to the Holy Father. The appearance of a Jesuit habit again in that city, where every shade of colour and variety of form has its meaning, and where, to the eye of Masters of Ceremonies, Abbots, Prelates, and Notaries, the whole scene is a moving hieroglyphic, caused great sensation. The sober garb of Angiolini recalled passions and factions that had slumbered for thirty years among the miscellaneous population of Rome; but the events of those thirty years induced a new train of opinions; and most people looked upon that flowing, Priest-like habit, as the fragment of a wreck floated to the shore, after the lull of a revolutionary tempest. When the wearer, led into the closet by the Russian Ambassador, knelt before Pius VII., the Pontiff wept for joy, and performed the ceremony of benediction with a rare and unaffected cordiality. He heard the Italian, eloquent in his vernacular at Rome, yet naturalised among the schismatics of the North, describe the honours heaped upon the remnant of his order there, during three successive reigns,

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without intermission and without mischance. The stream of good fortune was bearing them and the religion of their Church onward into regions hitherto impervious, and their expulsion from the Popedom now turned out to be nothing less than an extension of the Popedom itself into the territories of the ancient schism that the fall of Byzantium had weakened, but could not heal.

A letter from the United States of America found its way to St. Petersburg. John Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore, and Leonard Neale, his coadjutor, address the General, under date of May 23d, 1803. They tell him that they were once members of the Company of Jesus. After the suppression of the order in 1773, when the United States obtained their independence in 1783, Pius VI. erected the see of Baltimore, and confided to its Incumbent the spiritual government of that vast republic. Many Priests, and a crowd of Regulars of many orders, then came to America, and went over the country, endeavouring to propagate "the true faith." But only thirteen members of the Company of Jesus are now to be found, and these are chiefly in the States of Maryland and Pennsylvania, aged and worn out.

"By letters from many of our brethren, we have heard with the most lively joy that, thanks to a sort of miracle, the Company has been saved, and still exists in the territory of the Emperor of Russia. We know that the Sovereign Pontiff acknowledges it; and, by a Brief,

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has given your paternity power to admit again those who have belonged to the Company. Almost all the ancient Fathers ardently solicit permission to renew the vows which they once made to God in this institute. They ask leave to end their life in its bosom, and they intend to consecrate their last days to the Society, if Providence permits." The writers are not unmindful of the difficulties that have to be overcome before the Company can be revived in its pristine form, be brought under its peculiar government, and be again animated with its proper spirit. To attain this end, they think it essential that his paternity shall choose, from the members of the order, a person of extreme prudence, acquainted with business, and full of the spirit of Ignatius and his Constitutions, and send him over to the United States of America, in the name and authority of the General.

The writers suggest that the perils of a long voyage may be avoided if the General can find a suitable person in England or in America; but they confess that they have been so long out of the Society as to have little knowledge of its government. They have no books, not even the Constitutions and Acts of the General Congregations; and think that neither in America nor England could a Jesuit be found to exhibit in himself a combination of knowledge, health, and the other qualifications necessary for the man that would revive their order. They therefore

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think that Gruber had better send them some one from his own presence, who should be thoroughly acquainted with his views, and possessed of prudence to avoid coming into conflict with the government, laws, and spirit of the American republic, and with the manners of the people. They state how much of the original property of the Company remains, and calculate that it would maintain thirty persons; and they describe the laws which give liberty of worship to the professors of all religions, but do not acknowledge any right in monastic bodies to hold property in common; and they are also careful to say that "if any one casts away the yoke of religion," that is to say, Monkery, "he does it with impunity among this people, the secular arm not lending the least assistance to bring him back to his duty." The General loses no time in acceding to their request, appoints one Father Molineaux to be the Superior of the Mission, and from that time Jesuits crowd into the land of liberty; where, with the Pope or without him, they may carry on their schemes of propagation.*

At the centre of action, Gruber toiled incessantly. Alexander asked him to supply Missioners for the rising colonies of Odessa. They are at once forthcoming. The Romanists of Riga apply to the Emperor for Jesuits to refresh their faith; and the Emperor, willing to cede a little of his

* Cretineau-Joly, tom. vi., chap. 6.

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own faith, if the contentment of his vassals can be thereby promoted, hears the prayer with complacency, and confides his willing answer to Gruber for execution.

Could all this last? Could the exotic of Jesuitism flourish when transplanted into the frosts of Siberia, and along the banks of the Volga? The sky darkens already. Russian jealousy is on the watch. And even amidst all this prosperity, in an ukase of July 4th, 1803, there is a cautionary clause, imposing on the Jesuits in those Missions the same restriction as prevailed in the old states. It speaks thus:—"This tolerance, which leads the Government to abstain from all influence on the conscience of men in matters of religion, must serve as a rule to the Catholic authorities in their relations with the United Greeks, and must forbid their using any inducements to divert those sectaries from their form of worship. If the dominant religion does not allow itself to use any coercive measure, how much more should a religion that is tolerated abstain therefrom!"

We, who believe the law of Christ, as it is written in the New Testament, to be the rule of our life, think it right to labour, in every country, for the conversion of sinners, and can all understand that laws to forbid proselytism are defective in principle. We disapprove of the favourite policy of rulers where Christian liberty is unknown, to discourage con-

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version by the preaching of the Gospel, which they mistake for proselytism. This policy subserves the interests of the Church of Rome, no less than those of the Russo-Greek Church ; but it must be acknowledged that in the relative position of these communions in Russia, regarded politically, legal restraint is not without its reason. And in order to counteract undue influence from abroad, Alexander I. accompanied his favours to the Jesuits with a further limitation, forbidding, by an ukase of December 15th, 1803, communication with the Court of Rome, by any Romish Bishop, Priest, or subject, under very severe penalties, and reserving correspondence with that Court to be conducted by himself alone, through his Ministers.

During six months from this time, the misunderstanding between the courts continued. Arezzo, the Nuncio, was at length dismissed from St. Petersburg ; and in an ukase addressed to Siestrzencewicz, the Archbishop of Mohilow, on the 10th of August, 1804, Alexander commanded him to exercise the functions of ecclesiastical superior over all the members of the Romish Church in Russia, irrespective of the pontifical authority. This he did, to the great mortification of the Jesuits.

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Ferdinand IV. of Naples, although the son of Charles III. of Spain, gave ear to those who pro-

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pagated the notion that all Sovereigns were interested in the revival of the Society. The Jesuits had everywhere laboured to make it appear that Monarchs could not serve themselves better than by agreeing to revive Jesuitism, as an eminently monarchical order. They offered their services to support the thrones lately subverted by the French revolution, while they scrupled not to act as agents of the usurper who strove to establish a throne of his own upon the ruins of all European monarchies. Having fallen under this delusion, Ferdinand followed in the steps of the Duke of Parma, and prayed the Pope to restore the Company to its former condition in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

Pius VII. only waited this opportunity to fulfil the long-cherished intention. Certainly his Brief to Karen limited the reconstitution to Russia, and said that it did not extend beyond ; but the document did not say that it never *should*. Dogma cannot change at Rome, except to receive some additional novelty ; but discipline may be varied according to circumstances, and, without contradicting the letter of the last law, the same Pontiff might add new favours to those already granted. He therefore sent another Brief to Gruber, to the effect that his dearest son in Jesus Christ, Ferdinand, King of the Two Sicilies, had recently represented to him that it appeared extremely likely that it would conduce to the prosperity of his kingdom, in the circumstances of those times,

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if the youth could receive information in good manners, and be instructed in salutary doctrines. To that end a better way could not be found than to establish the Company within that kingdom, just as it was already established in the empire of Russia, and equally subject to the rule of St. Ignatius. The education of youth being a chief object of their institute, whether in colleges or schools, His Holiness paid regard to the pastoral functions incumbent on himself, and to the desires of the King. For the greater glory of God, in compliance with His Majesty's desires, and for the salvation of the subjects of that Prince, the Pope, of his certain knowledge, in the plenitude of apostolic power, and after mature deliberation, resolved to extend the tenor of the last letters-apostolic to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies from the empire of Russia.

Authority was confided to Angiolini to receive, in Naples and Sicily, all who, having formerly been Jesuits, were wishful to return. All members of the Society, living under its rule in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, were empowered to fashion youth to good manners, religion, and letters, to hear confessions, announce the word of God, and administer the sacraments, with the approbation of the Ordinary. The Jesuits and their property in Naples were attached to the community in Russia. Gruber paid prompt obedience to the apostolic mandate, and set

affairs in train for the accomplishment of their common purpose. And thus took effect in Italy the revival of a sect, that Pope and Kings had so recently united, or seemed to unite, in order to suppress. A King called for the return of those whom all Kings had agreed to banish. A Benedictine,—for such was Pius VII.,—member of a rival brotherhood, that was wont to regard the Jesuits with an enmity strengthened by tradition, and heated by habitual indulgence, was the one who, merging the Monk in the Pontiff, threw open the door for their certain re-establishment in Italy. “Our children will see,” says Carlo Botta, “whether mankind is benefited by this. But if we may judge of the future by the past, sad thoughts must overcast the mind of wise men who long for the peace of states, the independence of Princes, and the liberty of the people.” Thirty years have not passed away since this portent of the Italian historian saw the light; and if the thoughts of wise men were then sad with forebodings of the consequences of revived Jesuitism, what must they be now, when Italy—to say nothing of the Continent in general—is plunged into a state of deeper degradation and bondage than has befallen it at any time within the present century? The wisest men in England could not then have apprehended the extent of mischief consequent upon that most fatal restoration.

How this mischief comes about cannot be

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explained better than by the Italian just quoted, whom, therefore, I quote again. "Jurisdiction gives the Roman Pontiffs a visible power in foreign countries. From informations and advices they derive a secret power. In this last service the Jesuits rendered very effectual aid. On one hand, in pursuance of their orders, they diligently transmitted to the General at Rome information of all they could spy out, and this he communicated to the Papal Government. On the other hand, by giving counsel to Princes, and instructing youth, they brought over both governors and governed at their pleasure, being well versed in the art of turning religious means to worldly ends."*

A decree of Ferdinand of Naples (August 6th) brought back the Company of Loyola to the Two Sicilies. He proclaimed the services which it had rendered to the Church and to monarchy, and predicted other services which it would render in time to come. Pignatelli, who had presided over the remnant of Jesuitism in Parma, found his reward in promotion to the dignity of Provincial over the newly-authorised establishment. Ferdinand invited the surviving members of the family that was banished thirty-seven years before, to return to the recovered home. Many accepted the invitation; and, among others, Avogadro, Bishop of Verona, laid aside his mitre, threw the remainder of his life into the rising cause, and

* Storia d'Italia, lib. xxii.

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reaped applause that the renunciation of an Italian bishopric for a post of real eminence in the political world was thought to merit.

On the arrival of the Brief, Ferdinand and his Queen, with the Princes and Princesses of the Royal Family, went to mass with great pomp, and performed thanksgiving. The college formerly occupied by the Jesuits was opened on the feast of the assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and the Fathers again took possession. Their church was opened with mass on the same day; and Ferdinand graced with his presence the building, which, they say, he had not entered since the expulsion of its former occupants. An annual revenue to the college of forty thousand ducats gave proof of His Majesty's regard; and the Queen provided furniture, with money from her own purse, promising to do yet more. Houses and colleges again sprang up in many parts of the kingdom; and "the faithful," in some places, were made to vie with each other in contributing money and furniture for the comfort of the royal favourites. A new road to honour, wealth, and power opened to the prospect of aspiring youth; and the Provincial and his Professed found some difficulty in maintaining the severe spirit of old Jesuitism, in ministering to the orderly formation of a new Society, while a multitude of raw volunteers pressed into it.

The next thing done was an announcement of this triumph by the press,—a cry of exultation

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resounding throughout Europe. Let us take a specimen from the *Journal des Débats*.*

“The new Jesuits are precisely what the old ones were. Besides the same name, they have the same habit and the same rule. The new ones will be formed by the old ones that are yet existing, by this remnant of Israel whom Providence does not seem to have preserved for any other end than to be the depositaries of the sacred fire, and of the true traditions and principles of the institute. Thus, the chain from St. Ignatius not suffering the slightest interruption, it may be said that the new Jesuits are indeed the successors of the old ones, and that the order, although not equal in extent, enjoys, nevertheless, the same perfection. It has an identity as precious as honourable, which is at once the guarantee of its duration, the firmest check on those perfidious reforms that certain systematic spirits would devise, the most decided refutation of the assertions of its enemies, and the noblest triumph that can be won over those who would unrighteously compass its destruction.

“In erecting the Company of Jesus again upon its old foundations, and thereby nullifying the Brief of Clement XIV., his virtuous successor by no means brought the Holy See into contradiction with itself. As it was a necessity that gave rise to the Brief of destruction, so did the Brief of resurrection spring from a necessity;

* 10 Vendémiaire an xiii. (Oct. 2d, 1804.)

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but with this difference, that the former necessity was a consequence of the cruelty of some potentates who held in their power the unhappy Pontiff, whom they compelled to disperse, by a stroke of his pen, twenty thousand indefatigable workmen, who both preached and taught in the four quarters of the world. But the necessity of the present day is that of time and of experience, which throws light on the miseries that have succeeded to that fatal epoch" (of the French revolution), "and shows the need of providing a remedy for them. This need, we doubt not, will be felt in Catholic states, just in proportion as enmities and prejudices pass away, when party spirit is extinguished in common miseries, when Sovereigns open their eyes to their true interests, when impiety betrays itself by new excesses, and when the spread of immorality shall convince, even the most blinded, of this principle of the great Bacon, that, to educate youth, nothing better can ever be found than Jesuit schools."

In other words, Jesuitism, speaking by a pen of its own, tells the world that it is none other than a political scheme, ready to serve as an engine of state to be worked by the power that shall reward it best, by a reciprocation of service.

BZROZOWSKI SUCCEEDS TO GRUBER.

Our Jesuits have died sadly : Xavier, Garnet, and Schall, for example. Even Bellarmine, overwhelmed with adulation in the last hour, appears

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no better than a victim of delusion. Gruber was burnt to death in the night of the 25th and 26th March, 1805. I cannot relate the circumstances of this catastrophe, but suppose that his house caught fire, and that, although living when brought out of the flames, he was too much injured to survive. The Jesuits mourned his death; for Gabriel Gruber had been admired as the visible Providence of the Society of St. Ignatius. Father Lustyg, named Vicar, assembled the congregation at Polotsk by permission of the Emperor; and on the 2d day of September, Thaddeus Bzrozowski was elected General.

The new General found everything ready to his hand. The Missions, especially, were flourishing. From the banks of the Volga came intelligence of prosperity almost past belief. Within the space of twenty months from the commencement of their undertaking, one Father Grivel reported that no fewer than a hundred thousand Romanists were to be found within the province of Saratow. This territory was divided into "Missions," six of which lay on the left bank of the river, and four on the right; and each Mission contained two, three, four, or five colonies or villages. The writer counted 962 communicants, who frequented four churches thrown up hastily with wood. There was immorality enough in Saratow to supply material for the confessional; opposition to the pleasure of the Missioners

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there was none, and therefore they felt themselves happy enough to be willing to live and to die among the colonists. In the capital of Livonia the Jesuits exhibited great sanctimony among a godless population of Lutherans, whom the law of Russia did not forbid them to proselytise. The Missioner at Riga obtained sanction from the Government to print a Catechism, and circulate books adapted to the state of the population, and to the attainment of his own object. He opened schools, and French and German ladies of rank taught the children therein. Fostered by the warmth of a zeal that is rarely found beyond the neighbourhood of Protestantism, charitable institutions arose in the city for the benefit of the indigent and the orphan, and devout women became the most efficient agents of the Company. Of course, the Jesuits had much to say of the gross immorality of the Lutherans, of their own purity, and of their success.

In relation to Russia, they were indefatigable, cautious, and inoffensive courtiers, as yet; but hoped soon to pursue a somewhat bolder policy, not being very staunch in their fidelity to imperial interests. In relation to the Court of Rome they were no less devoted than when their Company stood at the head of the Propaganda, and shared in the deepest secret of the Consistory. The claims of Alexander I. on their loyalty were more than balanced by the demands

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of Pius VII. Now the land of refuge was far less dear to them than that land where they had lately suffered confiscation and imprisonment, whence they had been expelled by the policy of a reigning Pontiff, but whither they directed their hopes for a speedy and triumphant restoration. Between the ruling powers of St. Petersburg and Rome there could never be a cordial understanding; and therefore Nuncios and Ambassadors had always difficulties to remove and disagreements to settle. Temporary concessions, on both sides, allayed contention; but left untouched a contrariety of principle that is inherent in these powers, is sure to appear when they are brought into competition with each other, and is the more stubborn as the Czar and the Pope combine, each in his own person, the attributes of temporal and spiritual sovereignty. The Legate Arezzo, already quoted, describes the state of things in Russia under the influence of passions natural to a Legate; and this must be borne in mind, while we read some passages in his report that concern the Jesuits.

Bzrozowski, once the Secretary, now the General, of the order, was said to be a man of sufficient education, not entitled to the reputation of great learning; but very laborious, zealous, devoted to the Holy See, and on good terms with the Society. In all the Russian dominions there were, members of the Society, 118 Priests, 83 students, and 63 laymen, being

264 in all. The church of the Romanists in St. Petersburg, resorted to by all of that rite in the city, was confided to the Jesuits, who thus had access to a large number of Poles, Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, and others, and could receive intelligence with the utmost facility from all those countries. Four languages were used in the confessionals and in the pulpit of this church. Preachers delivered sermons there on feast-days in Polish, German, French, and Italian. On Sundays they performed catechism—I should not say that they catechised; but *fanno il catechismo*—in those languages. In Passion-week, as Romanists and their imitators call the week before Easter, they conducted spiritual exercises in the same. They had praise of diligence in visiting the dying, and even the sick, and in collecting alms for the indigent. They, of all other ecclesiastics of their communion, alone had this praise. “Corruption,” says Arezzo, “has come to so high a pitch in the Polish Clergy, and will not cease as long as they have such a wicked Pastor at their head, or, to speak more correctly, such a wolf over the flock of Christ, intent on destroying Catholicism in these parts rather than on building it up.” This was the Archbishop of Mohilow, a nominee and supporter of the Russian crown, who had not sworn to persecute and crush all heretics, rebels, and schismatics.

The Jesuits had public schools in St. Peters-

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burg, not frequented by Romanists only, but by young Protestants and Russians, all of whom learnt the Catechism of Bellarmine. On the college, opened in the year 1803, the Legate rested his firmest hope. At the close of the first year, this college contained upwards of fifty young men, most of them of the best families in the capital of Russia. Among others there were sons of Count Kotschowbey, Minister of the Interior, and of Count Tolstoy, Grand-Marshal of the Court. Ministers and chiefs, in common with inferior persons, were not inaccessible to considerations of economy. In the college a youth might live at the cost of 600 rubles for the year, and learn Popery besides; while at home, a tutor, less accomplished than the Jesuits, would consume at least 1500 rubles in salary, besides board, lodging, firing, and a carriage. There were a few Romanist lads in the establishment, and these went to mass at their own altar. The young Russians either did the same, or, on special occasions, went to the nearest Greek church; but then they were accompanied by a Greek Priest, chosen to guide their devotions by the General of the Jesuits, and with the understanding of the Government. "I confess," says Arezzo, "that this communication, *in divinis*, with Greeks in a Catholic church, tolerated by those good Fathers for an excellent end, is not permitted by the Sacred Canons, and I have not failed to notice it; but

they say that it would be the ruin of their college to set aside this concession."

"The Jesuits," he affirms, "are most skilful in inspiring an ever-growing esteem towards our religion, and thus lose sight of nothing that may gain them the good-will of men in power, and of the grandees of the empire. The advances they have made are so much the more wonderful, as they have had to contend with many opposing prejudices, and to endure many contradictions; but over all these things they have been triumphant. The Ministry and the Sovereigns believe them to be useful for public instruction; and on this account protect them, and promote their interests."

Evidence of this confidence was given in the appointment of Jesuits to manage the settlement of Saratow, in preference to all others; and the Missions of Odessa, Astrachan, Caffa, and perhaps Georgia too, are going to be confided to them. Lands will be allotted for their maintenance; and on those lands it is their intention to establish colonies by promoting the immigration of German Romanists. Many of that communion are already there, being chiefly Genoese; and among them are several members of old families. "If matters go on in this way, by favour of the Jesuits, there is nothing that, with prudent management, may not be expected from this Government. Would to Heaven that there were another Archbishop at the head of the Catholics

here. He of Mohilow is only fit to frustrate, or, at least, to obstruct, whatever benefit may result from the labours of the Company of Jesus. Besides the Archbishop of Mohilow, the Society has other deadly and terrible enemies ; but their efforts are, as yet, without effect, and there is reason to hope that, with Heaven's help, they will be as ineffectual for time to come." Other communities, indeed, stand in the way of some projects that are just now entertained. The Franciscans, for example, have Missions in Tiflis and Gori in Georgia ; and the entrance of Jesuits might provoke resistance and clamours prejudicial to the common cause, as in China. The laws of Russia, prohibitory of communication with the Pope, except through the ruling power at St. Petersburg, are another obstacle, much to be lamented ; but this may be evaded by the actual subjection of every Jesuit to his General Bzrozowski, who is himself acting under the Propaganda. Arezzo does not seem to apprehend that a system of evasion may at some time fail on detection. He does not foresee that the habit of evasion, after cherishing and strengthening a spirit of opposition to Russian authorities, and alienating every Jesuit more and more from the confidence of these authorities, will impress the character of an alien on each member of the Society, lead him to act as an alien, and eventually provoke an expulsion of them all from Russia. This was the natural

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consequence of their position ; and their expulsion was real and effective, not leaving the Jesuits in that empire, as in England, with leisure to laugh at laws that never were enforced.

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Alexander I. was not so easily swayed by private influence as his father. He favoured the Society, because he found it existing ; knew that his grandmother, whose policy he followed, had given it her special patronage ; believed that its labours would be conducive to the spread of education, and to the better management of new settlements and colonies ; and because he had not yet an insight into its collusion with the Court of Rome. He could not have been unmindful of the fact that Gruber, especially, had been admitted to the confidence of Catherine and Paul, and was privy to family-secrets during the reign of the latter, that were only to be kept in darkness. The late General had taken part, as he remembered, in diplomatic negotiations ; and his father had disclosed to him his troubles and his fears both while Grand Duke, and in disfavour with the Empress, and while trembling for his life, until the night when the Prime Minister strangled him in his chamber, and set Alexander on the throne. Alexander patronised the Company, it is true ; but they only shared the patronage which he took pleasure in extending to all whom he thought worthy

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of it, on any account. The General Bzrozowski, therefore, went on cautiously for some years, making good his ground, and seeming to merit the confidence of the Sovereign, by an assiduous performance of good works.

The perseverance of the Jesuits in Mission service would have been heroic, if charity alone had impelled, and faith sustained them, without the charm of imperial authority. A noble field of enterprise was afforded them at Mozdok, on the Caucasus, a penal settlement. Convicts were collected from the criminal or the unfortunate of many provinces, all ignorant, all immoral, all desperate. And wild mountaineers beyond, who had fled from Russian cannon, or who, rallied in their own strongholds, infested the outposts of the conquerors, and cut off the stragglers, yet sometimes, lured by the attractions of the place, ventured to make their dwelling there. The Jesuits, passive, mild, indefatigable as they were, pursued their object ; and at length carried the crucifix into the mountain-wilds, and gained access to the Pagans. If their own accounts be true, they rendered good service to the Russian troops by their mediation with the natives, and mitigated the horrors of military occupation in that outskirt of the widening territory.

Siberia lay before them. The existence of many members of their Church in that dreary region afforded them a reason for pursuing their vocation there also, and they accordingly

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obtained from the Czar authority for entering on a Mission to Siberia. Thus empowered, three Missioners set out for Odessa, in the year 1810. The Duke of Richelieu, as Governor, and the Abbé Nicolle had invited them to aid in the civilisation of that infant colony, founded in the reign of Catherine; and they hastened to obey the call, and at the same time extended their enterprise to the Crimea.

But they seek their reward. They cannot always toil in obscurity. Their pupils are now growing into manhood, and some of them sit in the high places of the state. They have aimed at pre-eminence in the education of the Russians; and the time has come, as they imagine, to assert and urge their claim for a superior station, and even for legalised independence. Other teachers are foreigners as well as they; but while they work in the seminaries without any academical distinction, strangers from all parts of Europe occupy the professional chairs, and enjoy the rights and pre-eminence of Universities. Hence arise jealousies and conflicting claims. They forget their vows of humility, poverty, and abstention from the honours of the world.

The University of Vilna claims a visitatorial right over the seminary of Polotak. The authorities of the Russian University think it their prerogative to exercise a directive power over the studies pursued in the latter institution, and they require that the pupils there taught

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should finish their education, and receive their academic honours, at Vilna. And not only did the University insist on exercising this right, but pointed out the defects that are essential to Jesuitical schooling, and, in doing so, employed language natural to those who are conscious of legal superiority. The course of study prescribed by Loyola (*Ratio Studiorum*) was antiquated, narrow, and incomplete; and it was to be expected that learned men in the nineteenth century, being intrusted with the care of raising University education in Russia to the level of European intelligence, would point out these defects.

On the other hand, Bzrozowski, as representative and champion of the Company, maintained a boldly defensive position. He scrupled not to say that those Professors were anti-Catholic, cosmopolitan, and infidel, and complained that their conduct towards the seminaries was arbitrary and vexatious. The debate grew hotter and hotter; and it became not only a question of learning, but one of state. They disputed who should have the power. The General appealed for a decision to the Minister of Public Instruction, and represented (August 24th, 1810) that the contest between two rival powers—for he acknowledged no inferiority—could not but be injurious to both. It was undoubtedly most important, he pleaded, that the Russian youth should be educated in principles of patriotism,

and in sentiments of submission, respect, and devotion towards the person of the Sovereign; but he asserted that there could be no guarantee for the inculcation of such principles, and the encouragement of such sentiments, in Universities where the Professors had no link of attachment to the empire, beyond the situations they might chance to hold, but whose interests were separate and independent from those of the state, and who, by consequence, were better fitted to quench the flame of patriotism in the bosoms of young men than to kindle it.

In thus impugning the religion and loyalty of the Universities, our Jesuit chose to forget that, although himself a Russian subject by birth, his own interests and his own connexions were eminently foreign. He chose to overlook a fundamental difference between the French, German, and English scholars, whom Alexander had brought into Russia, for the performance of a national service, and the Jesuit fugitives, who had merely found a home there when they could not find one elsewhere. He would not own that the former were likely to be animated with regard for the country of their adoption, and for the advancement of institutions confided to their learning and emulative diligence; while the latter were bounden inextricably to the horns of the Roman altars, there to be offered up as living sacrifices, and so consumed by zeal for the elevation of the Papacy, as to be unable to own

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any other Sovereign, or home, or country. But it was necessary for Bzrozowski to assume the language of Russian patriotism, in order to compass his real object. As for the imperfection of the Jesuit system of study, he denied that it was imperfect, contended that it was excellent; and, refusing to make any change under the pressure of University inspection, argued that its very diversity from the course pursued in other seats of learning, tended to obviate the evils of a monotonous intellectual uniformity, and to quicken the progress of illumination. In other words, if some hearths were lit by the smoking pine-brands of the sixteenth century, while others were cheered by the clear lamps of the nineteenth, the household would be all the better able to see their work. Obscurity heightens light! The sacred grove, within whose umbrageous depths the gods love to slumber, is called *lucus à non lucendo*—bright by the foil of gloom!

However, some part of this reasoning did influence the Minister Rasoumoffski. The Czar was not a highly-educated man. French infidelity and democracy alarmed the world; the French troops were likely to break in upon Russia, and overwhelm the empire in the general deluge of revolution; and, although the literary argument was ridiculous, the appeal to conservatism and loyalty had a semblance of good reason, and the request of the Jesuit seminarists to be made independent of the existing Universities, by being

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made themselves a University, did commend itself, for the moment, to the policy of Alexander, and the question was entertained. To all this Bzrozowski added a reason of economy. "We ask absolutely nothing more," said he, in a note to Count Rasoumoffski (September 11th, 1811), "than to be maintained in possession of the property that we actually enjoy. The salaries of Professors, whom it is often necessary to bring at great expense from foreign countries, make the Universities very costly to the state; but, as for us, our order furnishes all the Professors that we need, and each of these Professors gives all his care and all his labour without receiving any salary at all, without expectation of recompense on earth, and only to fulfil the duty of his vocation."

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Still Alexander felt some scruple. It became a question of what the petitioners would call *Catholic emancipation*. The Greek Clergy foresaw danger to their own religion, if Romanism should be raised towards the same level in the state. The Universities knew that in other countries the gratuitous or cheap teaching of the Jesuits had always injured the more ancient institutions; and they apprehended that in Russia, as aforetime in Germany, the Company would acquire an undue influence over the people by means of a cheap and easy education.

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Then Le Maistre, the Sardinian Ambassador, came up to the aid of the Jesuits. He wrote some stirring letters, denouncing the Universitarians as democratic, and warning the Czar against the subversive tendencies of their teaching. "This infidel sect," said he, "transforming itself into many shapes, penetrates everywhere, and strikes its roots into the soil. It only wants, for the time, the ear of youth, and the patience of the Sovereign. It keeps quiet now, and reserves its outcry for the end." And then he made a strong appeal for the sect, to whom he might, with at least equal propriety, have applied this very language, and pleaded thus in favour of the Jesuits, at the expense of the University :—

"Amidst a danger so pressing, there is nothing more conducive to the interests of your Imperial Majesty, than a society of men who are, in their very nature, enemies of that which Russia has every reason to dread, especially in the education of youth. For my own part, I do not believe that it would be possible to substitute, with advantage, any other preservative. This Society is the watch-dog that you must be very careful not to turn away. If you will not suffer it to bite the thieves, that is your own affair ; but let it range about the house, at least, and awake you in the moment of danger, before your doors are broken open, or before they come in upon you through the window." The Russians had objected, that the discipline of

this order was inimical to the interests of the nation, that it was a state within a state. But Le Maistre contended that it was only a regiment within an army, and he asked no more for this regiment than deliverance from the humiliation of taking orders from any Colonel but their own.

From this humiliation it was excused. In the year 1812, the Czar erected the college of Polotsk into a University, with all the privileges of other academies. Great was the exultation of the Jesuits; and sincere, as we shall soon see, was to be the repentance of Alexander. No state yet has intrusted education to any order of the Church of Rome, without finding occasion of repentance. The story of Polotsk is told. The story of Maynooth is yet to be told. The one is on the page of recent history. The other is under the pen of the historian, and will be written in a short time; probably to our sorrow.

But with what grace did the Jesuits of Polotsk receive the boon?

No sooner had their University of Polotsk risen into existence, than Buonaparte and his army invaded Russia. Wherever they came desolation followed. The Russians fled at their approach; and even the Czar, unprepared to face the enemy, retreated northward; his army, and the inhabitants themselves, burning every town, in order to leave the French without provisions. But the Jesuits, with cool indifference, kept their ground. They saw Buonaparte marching to the destruc-

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tion of Moscow ; and while every one else fled, they went to meet him with the confidence of men conscious that they had already rendered him a service, and were willing to serve him again. The Marshal Youvion-Saint-Cyr was convinced of their willingness to receive another temporal Monarch, by the officious kindness which they rendered to his troops ; and after the flames of Moscow had avenged the French invasion, and that city had been laid waste as if it had been but one of the little villages that had already disappeared, the Jesuits again welcomed a section of the famished army, and made an ostentatious display of hospitality to the troops of the Marshal de Bellune.

After having been pensioned on imperial bounty, protected against the world, and enriched besides, during three reigns ; after asking for legal powers to carry out their schemes of education, pleading that they alone were worthy to be intrusted with the care of Russian youth, because of their loyalty to the person and government of the Czar, and their love of Russia ; and while those Russians, whose fellow-subjects they professed themselves proud to be, were with one mind pursuing a plan of passive resistance that impoverished themselves to save their country, and followed the Czar even to the burning of their dwellings, the loss of their harvests, and the ruin of their estates ; Bzrozowski and his train alone stood unmoved ; and they only went, with

merry faces, to welcome the invader, and bespeak the favours which he might be thought willing to confer on those who anticipated all others in paying him homage. So had they hastened, first of all, to swear allegiance to Catherine when she unrighteously seized on Poland ; and so, at an earlier period of their history, did the Jesuits run with open arms to give welcome to the Chinese rebels that stormed Peking, and, having smiled on the traitors that betrayed their Sovereign and patron, paid homage to the "thief" that revelled in the "sacred city," and fawned again at the footstool of the Tartar. Even so now did stranger sympathise with stranger, and refugee with enemy. They screened themselves, heartless that they were, under the plea that the Church knows no party, acknowledges no rightfulness in any Government, except that which arises from her own donation or investiture, and befriends every one whom she meets, even in hostile attitude against her own best friends, if, by so doing, she can but bespeak their good-will, or make them her debtors. For the moment, their conduct might have seemed excusable, and quite consistent with the customs of ecclesiastics ; but when Alexander, some time later, had shared in the common triumph of Europe over the common enemy, and, after enjoying the congratulations of his allies, returned from the Congress of Sovereigns and resumed the ordinary administration of his own affairs, he

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began to see the Company unmasked, and very soon dealt with them according to their deserts.

Spared by the invader of Russia, who was no enemy of theirs, they rejoiced amidst the ashes and the carnage, sailed onward gaily in the full breeze of their own prosperity, and carried themselves as confidently as if their old friend, the Frenchman, had established a garrison at St. Petersburg. But although they had made a brilliant show of clerical charity towards the hostile army, emptying their stores to feed the French officers, they suffered their own poor serfs to perish for want of succour, or, unmoved to pity, saw them wander in search of sustenance and shelter, even to the gates of distant cities.

More and more clearly the Russians perceived that the presence of their worse than doubtful friends brought no advantage to their country; and inhumanity towards their own dependents tended strongly to counteract the favourable impression they had so assiduously laboured to produce. "Deadly and terrible enemies" they were likely to have, if such they had not already; and we cannot wonder that, already, the Czar manifested coldness towards them. An occasion for such a manifestation occurred in the latter end of 1812, immediately on the retreat of the wreck of the French army. The war of independence waged by Spain with France, gave the

Jesuits an opportunity to attempt the recovery of their position in the Peninsula. The obvious method for accomplishing that object was to throw themselves into the stream of national enthusiasm, and a project of return was formed before the French invasion. But having failed to rise with Buonaparte in Russia, now that he was beaten there, they might endeavour to rise with Spain at his expense. And they might possibly recover some of their diminished credit in the north, by joining the cry against him in the south. Accordingly, Bzrozowski selected five of the Fathers to accompany him into Spain, and endeavour to effect the recall of the Society; but, as they could scarcely quit their posts without imperial sanction, he applied to the Prince Galitzin, Minister of Worship, soliciting His Majesty's permission to proceed thither, and submitting the copy of a note which he intended to present to the Supreme Junta at Cadiz, for the re-establishment of the order in that monarchy. Alexander directed his Minister to return an answer couched in the following cautious and very coldly official language:—"His Majesty commands me to inform you that he interposes no obstacle to the execution of your project; but, on the other hand, he will take no part in it. This object is of such a nature as cannot but be entirely foreign to him, considering that the establishment in question could only take place out of his empire."

THE RESURRECTION.

And this piece of history also lies beyond the scope of the present volume. It is enough to say that, in spite of the repugnance of the Spanish nation, and by stealth, the Fathers did manage to obtain a temporary and partial re-establishment in that country.

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In Rome, however, management was not needed; for the Court had never entertained a serious thought unfriendly to Jesuitism. Pope Pius VII. and his adviser, Cardinal Pacca, resolved to throw off all restraint, and authorise, at once, the restoration desired. No sooner was the Pope released from his captivity, and returned to Rome, than he decreed the "resurrection." There is a curious anecdote told at Rome in relation to this subject. They say that when the French General Radet had arrested His Holiness in the Vatican, and it was heard that he would carry him away from the Roman States, the Jesuits in Sicily, being resolved to signalise their devotedness to the successor of St. Peter, hired a vessel, which they manned and piloted by some of their Society, and then set sail for the mouth of the Tiber. Thence they sent to tell His Holiness that they and their vessel were at his disposal, to convey him away from the hands of his persecutors. The Pope declined accepting their offer, saying that persecution was necessary, and that he would not shrink from

it ; but he took the safer method of resigning his person to the custody of his keepers.*

Now that he is returned from the French captivity, and the Potentates of Europe are, in general, said to be willing to believe that the labours of Jesuits are favourable to the interests of monarchy, and tend to counteract the principles of democracy, he hastens to gratify the Monarchs and to fortify his own throne by the publication of the Bull *Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum*, dated August 7th, 1814, which sets forth that :—

* The same incident is related with greater precision, by the Chevalier Artaud, once *Chargé d’Affaires* for France at Rome, and biographer of Pius VII.

“Towards the end of August (1808), a person in disguise came to Monte Cavallo, saying that he was charged to inform the Pope, that if he would withdraw himself secretly to Fiumicino, he would there find a barge (*chaloupe*) manned with experienced rowers, who would take him on board an English frigate sent from Palermo by King Ferdinand, to receive His Holiness. The Father Don Gaetano Angiolini, Vice-General of the Company of Jesus, was on board this frigate ; and he sent the very reverend Father Procida, a Maronite, in disguise to Rome, to communicate with Cardinal Pacca. Queen Caroline had caused the cabins of this frigate to be richly furnished, and nothing was wanting but the Pope’s consent. Father Procida, who confided this important secret to the Cardinal, knew the signals agreed on for exchange between the frigate and the boat ; but the Pope would not consent to take his flight, and the Cardinal confirmed him in his resolution. But the Pope retained the recollection of the proceeding of Father Angiolini deeply engraven on his heart.” (*Histoire du Pape Pie VII.*, tom. ii., chap. 34. Paris, 1839.)

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"The Catholic world unanimously demands the re-establishment of the Company of Jesus. To this effect we daily receive the most pressing petitions from our venerable brethren, the Archbishops and Bishops, and from personages* the most distinguished, especially since it has been known what abundant fruits this Company has produced in the countries we have mentioned. The very dispersion of the stones of the sanctuary, in the late calamities which we must now deplore, rather than narrate; the annihilation of discipline in the religious orders, glory and stay of religion and the Catholic Church, to whose establishment all thoughts and all cares are now directed, require that we should yield to so just and general a desire.

"We should think ourselves guilty of a grave offence before God, if, amidst so great necessities of the republic, we were to neglect to use the succours which the special providence of God affords us, [as when the Sicilian Jesuits volunteered their succour on the Tiber,] and if, placed in the barque of St. Peter, tossed and troubled by continual tempests, *we rejected vigorous and experienced rowers, who voluntarily offer themselves to stem the billows of a sea that every moment threatens us with shipwreck and with death.* Determined by many and powerful motives, we have resolved to do this day what

* He does not venture to say *Princes*, but only *distinguished personages*.

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we could have wished to do at the commencement of our pontificate.

"After having, with fervent prayers, implored Divine assistance, after having taken the suffrages and counsels of a great number of our venerable brethren, the Cardinals of the holy Roman Church, we have decreed," &c., &c., "that all the gifts and powers granted by us to the empire of Russia and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies only, be henceforth extended to all our ecclesiastical state, and also to all other states. Therefore we concede and grant to our well-beloved son, Thaddeus Bzrozowski, now General of the Company of Jesus, and to the other members of the Company lawfully delegated by him, all powers," &c., "freely to receive and entertain all that desire to be admitted into the regular order of the Company of Jesus," &c., &c., &c.

"Finally, we earnestly commend, in the Lord, the Company and all its members to our dear children in Jesus Christ, the illustrious and noble Princes and temporal Lords, as well as our venerable brothers, the Archbishops and Bishops, and all those who are constituted in dignity. We exhort and conjure them, not only not to suffer that these Religious be molested in any manner, but also to see that they be treated with kindness and charity, as is right."

In the church of Jesus in Rome were assembled all the Cardinals in full Consistory, with the patricians of the city, and a large company

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of Jesuits. Eighty aged men represented the old Society, having survived the forty-one years of its nominal or partial extinction. At their head was one Alberto di Montalto, a prodigy of age. One hundred and twenty-six years he had been in the world, and one hundred and eight in the Society. Younger members represented the families of the Angiolini, the Crassi, and the Pannizoni. Younger still were those of the Altieri, the Pallavicini, the Patrizij, the Azeglij, and the Ricazoli. And the Fathers Pianciane, Pinone, Manera, and Secchi brought their full vigour as an offering to the cause of renovation. Such an assemblage was witness that the act of that day was not sudden, but long premeditated, and that they had been brought for this ceremony from afar. Father Pannizoni, Provincial of Italy, and acting, also, for the General, received the Bull from the hands of the Pope, and instantly despatched the intelligence to every province of the Popedom.

In due time the Pontiff assembled the College of Cardinals in secret Consistory, and there delivered one of those political summaries known as *allocutions*, which contain nothing new to the auditors, but are presumed to be authentic expositions of the policy of the Court, and are therefore published, and read with lively interest by all concerned in the affairs of which they treat. In regard to the Jesuits, Pius descanted in such terms as the following :—

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“In proportion as gifts increase, so do the responsibilities increase of those on whom they are bestowed. It behoves us, therefore, to be ready to discharge our duty towards everyone, in a degree proportioned to the benefits that we have received from him. Then let our piety towards God be more fervent, the odour of our virtues more fragrant, our watchful cares over the Lord's flock, which have never been interrupted, be now more assiduous than ever. No sooner, as you well know, was that chain of wicked bondage which detained us broken, and no sooner had we returned hither, than we applied ourself to the incessant labour of investigating and repairing the ills that weighed upon the Church. We expelled from the states under our immediate government those secret societies of wicked men, who are most inimical to religion, and to the thrones of Princes. [And yet there is no part of the world where, after perpetual expulsions, this class of persons can be found to swarm in greater numbers.] We have raised up again from its ashes the Society of Jesus, most apt of all for promoting the worship of God, and for effecting the eternal salvation of souls. We have again opened the convents of religious men, against whom the fury of the persecutor had so singularly raged.”* And, together with Jesuits and Friars, he told his venerable brethren that he had also rescued sacred virgins from the perils of

* Bullarii Romani Continuatio, tom. xiii.

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the world, and provided them with shelter where Cardinals, although not accustomed to protect innocence, might, at least, be exhorted to respect theirs.

The Cardinals bowed in reverence as he pronounced the allocution, the Sovereigns heard of the Bull of restoration with surprise, with indifference, or with suspicion; but, with one exception, anxiety to repair the damage of a long and exhaustive war absorbed their energies and diverted their attention. The movement of the Jesuits had been well calculated, and effected opportunely. Their point was gained; and now began a new campaign against the Gospel.

The Prince Regent of Portugal did not acquiesce in silence. From the palace of Rio Janeiro he sent a dispatch to his Minister at the Court of Rome, expressive of his surprise that the Pope had taken a step of so great importance without making the slightest previous communication to his Court, notwithstanding that Portugal had the greatest possible reason to complain of offences received from the Society of Jesus, offences which had been visited with the just penalty far back in the preceding century.

It being the positive intention of His Royal Highness to maintain, in full vigour, the dispositions of the edict of 1759, whatever determinations might be taken by other crowned heads, even by those who concurred with the King of Portugal in the extinction of the Company, the

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Minister was instructed to present a note to this effect without the least delay, and not to admit any negotiation on the subject, either verbal or written; all negotiation with the Court of Rome, in regard to its own projects, being no less dangerous than unavailing to any good effect. A message to the same purport was sent to the Nuncio at the Court of Portugal, and a correspondent circular to all the Ministers of that crown at the several Courts of Europe, with decisive orders to them all not to admit any explanation or any proposal, direct or indirect, since nothing could change the unalterable purpose of His Royal Highness.

The pages of Portuguese history abounded in evidence of atrocities perpetrated by the Jesuits. Besides other similar events in the mother-country and in Portuguese colonies, was most distinctly mentioned the fearful night of September 3d, 1758, when Jesuit conspirators attempted the life of the King, Dom Joze I.* And he remembered the terrible doctrine concerning regicide, as expounded by Manoel Sa, that "the rebellion of an ecclesiastic is not a crime of lese-majesty, because he is not a subject of the King;"† and considered himself bound, by regard to the safety of his people and the preservation of his crown, to abide by the letter

* Deducção Chronologica, Divisão xv.

† Cited in the Catechismo de' Gesuiti. Lipsia, 1820. P. 167.

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of the edict, which ordained that they should never more enter into that kingdom.

A lively sensation was excited in England by the revival of the Company, an event which appeared the more remarkable as the Romanists, both of Ireland and England, were besetting both Houses of Parliament with petitions for the removal of those disabilities which an elder legislation had been compelled, in self-defence, to lay upon their fathers. An impolitic and surreptitious interchange of compliments had weakened, even in the British Cabinet, that constitutional jealousy of the Court of Rome which it is our interest to exercise. Pius VII., on his part, in a letter from Cardinal Litta, to Dr. Poynter, his "Vicar Apostolic" in England, proposed terms of accommodation. He proposed a form of oath, promising, to the Sovereign of these realms, the same fealty, almost in the same words, that is rendered to himself, leaving the person who took it to decide afterwards whether he should keep his engagement to the Pope or to the King—"obey God or man." And he offered to allow the crown a veto on his own appointment of any Bishop who might be obnoxious to suspicion here.

A very large majority of both Houses imagined that Rome was changed, and that the Pope himself, like a good Christian man, had profited by his afflictions, and was thankful to the Protestant states of Prussia and England for the

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part they had taken in reseating him upon the chair of Peter. His concessions, as they were taken to be, found welcome here, and the Romanists were full of hope. But the Bull of restoration was laid before Parliament by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and told strongly against those hopes.*

"The Bull of our Holy Father concerning the Jesuits," wrote Poynter to Cardinal Gonsalvi, "is before our Parliament, and the question will be probably agitated next session. In these circumstances, I am obliged to be on my guard, not to compromise the common cause of the Catholic religion in my district. The affair" of negotiation between Rome and London "is very delicate in present circumstances."† Poynter was on his guard. So was Parliament, by a small majority; but that was all. Here are the Jesuits.

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If I were writing the history of the Bible Society, I should now find rich material for a chapter; but, although this is not my present occupation, I cannot refrain from translating a few sentences from the unfriendly pen of the Jesuit so often quoted.‡

"At the same time that the Jesuits were seek-

* Hansard, May 21st, 1816.

† Artaud, tom. iii., chap. 9.

‡ Cretineau-Joly, tom. vi., chap. 1.

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ing to regain the ground which they lost by the philosophy of the eighteenth century, [for he cannot confess that they lost ground in consequence of their own crimes,] an aggregation of interests was organized in the heart of Russia that could not but prepare their ruin. This aggregation was the Bible Society. The invasion of the French armies on the Muscovite territory had brought England into closer relation with the cabinet of St. Petersburg. England was the natural ally of the states on which Buonaparte made war. She offered Alexander assistance in his conflict with the man that devised the annihilation of Great Britain. By way of pledge of the treaty that was to change the face of Europe, she obtained, after 1811, for the London Bible Society,—that immense bazaar, which covers the world with its products, and transforms a work of piety into a commercial speculation,—permission to establish a branch at St. Petersburg. [The commercial and the political character here attributed to this great Society is foreign to all our conceptions of it who know it best.] Some months afterwards, the Drs. Patterson and Pinkerton set foot on the Russian continent, with the mission to vulgarise [!] the Protestant Bible.

“The burning of Moscow, the calculated disasters and the victories of his army, victories that were not altogether due to the ability of his Generals and the courage of his soldiers, sorrows

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of the present, hopes for the future, all contributed to work upon the very impressible character of Alexander. Of an amiable soul, but one that ever aspired to throw herself into the vague of ideas to escape the reality of inward troubles and recollections, the Czar was struck with a feeling of the responsibilities that events heaped upon his head. Amidst his devastated cities, his bloody campaigns, and his army leagued with frost to bring the French to nothing, this Prince, still a fine young man, raised his heart towards heaven. He must needs allay the fugitive impressions that agitate him incessantly. Neither pleasure nor glory can satisfy him. He pants for inward peace. Prince Galitzin directs him to the holy Scriptures, as the source of all consolation. With a collected mind he listens to the voice of God, who makes Himself heard in silence. The Vulgate, translated into French, was the book that brought him comfort; and, at this moment, it was proposed to him to place in the hands of the Muscovites the Divine work which had triumphed over his languors and his innocent remorse [!]. They did not explain to him the difference between the two Bibles; and he imagined that no hand of man would have dared to alter the original text of the word of God [not having been told by Protestants how far the Romish Vulgate had been altered, yet not so disguised as to become quite useless]. Through gratitude for the happiness which this reading

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had produced within him, he authorised the Bible Society on the 18th of December, 1812."

This was just after Pius VII. had restored the Jesuits; and we cannot but admire the gracious providence of God, that just then raised a barrier against Romanism in Russia. The Bible Society, however, had a higher mission than this writer can comprehend; and, noting this, we return to trace the proceedings of that section of the Company, now impending to its fall.

The Jesuits opposed the circulation of the holy Scriptures with all their might; for they saw, with indignation, that many of the Russian Clergy, not yet actuated by so strong a dogmatic hostility against God's holy word as that which distinguished the Latins, scrupled not to aid in the good work. The Prince Galitzin displayed great zeal; the highest functionaries of state, and most of the Greek Bishops, became patrons of the Bible Society; and even Stanislaus, Archbishop of Mohilow, following his imperial master, did the same. While the Jesuits refused to countenance what they were pleased to call the propagandism of the Anglican heresy, Pius VII. sent a brief to his Archbishop, expressive of surprise, grief, and blame, thus rendering an indirect, but unequivocal, award of praise to the disciples of Ignatius, who showed themselves to be imbued with the true spirit of their Church, by refusing to make common cause with what that Church condemns.

To counteract the influence of the Bible, the Jesuits composed a Catechism in the Russian language for the children of Romish parents. Galitzin, as Minister of Worship, refused to sanction a Catechism written expressly to contradict the divinely-inspired standard of religious truth. Thus arose a religious controversy; and of this the first effect was the breaking of that deceptive silence which had hitherto reigned in the Jesuit colleges. At Polotsk, their University, a large number of young men, of the first families in the empire, had been imbibing that sort of literary knowledge which Jesuitism affords. The Professors were men whose thoughts, moulded on the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius, could scarcely take a tenor of their own. In their meditations concerning the *Foundation*, the *Kingdom of Christ*, and the *Two Banners*, around which the whole intellectual and spiritual system of Jesuitism revolves, they had rendered themselves incapable of religious neutrality. They taught the premises, and, so far as those premises were accepted, they necessitated the conclusions, of Romanism. Their spirit, one and unvarying in its tendencies, ardently aspired towards the establishment of that kingdom which they miscalled by the name of Christ, and they could not but march and fight under the banner they had chosen; and all their teachings, if effective, necessarily brought the pupils to the fundamental principle of their own conduct.

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And, however ambiguous might be their sentences, whatever reserve might be used in their instructions, they could not but pursue the chosen end. "It is consistent," said the famous *Fundamentum*, (with the rules of conduct already given,) "to choose and desire, of all things, *those which, after all, conduct us to the end proposed.*"* The education at Polotsk, therefore, although they anxiously professed to avoid proselytism, was, on that very account, the more intensely Jesuitical; for proselytism was the end proposed, but not avowed.

Perhaps it would not have been easy to substantiate a charge of direct solicitation to quit the Greek Church, made in so many words; yet a tacit and even overpowering solicitation was constantly going on; and, while the Fathers themselves seemed to be silent, and most respectful to the conscience of their pupils, the number of proselytes was increasing every day, both in the University, and by means of the persons educated there. And the Emperor, who was, unlike his father, eminently tolerant, might have mistaken the increased number of Romanists for an accumulation of refugees from France, just as we have been wont to mistake an actual multiplication of perverts in England for a course of immigrants from Ireland. And as the more conspicuous cases of secession to Romanism

* *Exercitia Spiritualia* S. P. Ignatii Loyolæ. Aug. Taur., 1836. Vol. i., pp. 71, 113, 145.

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appeared to result from spontaneous conviction, he might not, at first, have supposed the Jesuits to be the chief promoters of the movement.

A nephew of the Minister of Worship, bearing also the name of Alexander Galitzin, was a student in the Jesuit College of St. Petersburg, and, when placed under their tuition, at the age of thirteen, was ardently attached to the Clergy and ceremonial of the Russo-Greek Church. To maintain this attachment, a Russian ecclesiastic gave him lessons in theology two or three times every week. But those lessons availed little, while, every day, and every hour of the day, he lived under Jesuit influence. During the Christmas festivities of the year 1814, all the city was taken by surprise with the intelligence that this youth had declared himself a candidate for admission into the Church of Rome. His uncle, the Minister, sent for him, represented the danger that he ran by quitting the Russian Church, in spite of the law which forbade the making of proselytes, and which could not be broken without some hazard to the proselytes themselves. He was then removed from the College, and, together with a younger brother, placed at court among the pages, and forbidden to hold any kind of communication with a Jesuit. But, instead of quietly submitting, he argued on the difference between the Greek and Latin dogmas with a coolness and skill that proved him to have received instruction in the art of contro-

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versy. From the chamber of a Jesuit he took—or they had been given to him—a hair-shirt and a discipline, or whip. Greek Bishops and Papas subjected him to a close doctrinal examination; and he replied after such a manner, that the source of his information, and of his facility in debate, was evidently to be sought in the teaching he had received. On the other hand, the young Prince declared that the Jesuits had not taken any part in his conversion. They had only set the poisoned viands before him, and he had innocently eaten.

Late as it was to impose restrictions on the Jesuits, after the mischief was done, they were obliged to close the doors of their colleges against all but foreigners; and the Russian Clergy anxiously awaited the return of the Emperor to St. Petersburg, by whose authority further preventive measures might be taken. His Majesty came, and ordained that thenceforth the Jesuits were not to extend their ministrations beyond the members of their own Latin Church, nor even to admit United Greeks to their confessionals or to their altars. Even the Missioners in Siberia were not to proselyte the Tartars. All aggressive operations were thenceforth to cease. The pupils were examined as to the conduct of their masters, in hope of detecting formal infractions of the law, but with little success; and the Jesuits, not displeased to appear as persecuted men, displayed their passive

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graces to the best advantage, and rejoiced in the division of a house against itself. There was Alexander Galitzin the persecutor, as they said, and Alexander Galitzin the persecuted. Many who had been silently led to the Romish altars, or, as their converters worded it, restored to Catholic unity, and some ladies who had been transformed into Nuns, now became the objects of observation. The progress of Romish innovation was traced with a searching eye; and Russia wondered at her own heedlessness, which had left those persons to prosecute their Mission with no more regard to secresy than was necessary in order to keep within the letter of the law. Of course the Bible Society was accused, by these Fathers, as waging a warfare of intolerance against them; and the Baroness of Krudener, a pious lady at court, who had considerable influence with the Emperor, and the *pictism* that is associated with her name, were represented as the spirit and impersonation of bitterness and vengeance.

Piety and prudence alike required that the scheme of policy which the Company pursued, and which the experience of nearly three centuries condemned, should not be suffered to undermine the national spirit of Russia, dispute with the Autocrat his power over the Clergy, and, mocking all existing ecclesiastical arrangements, create a new power in the empire. Therefore, on the 20th of December, 1815, Alex-

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ander I. signed the following ukase. It is no less than a historical manifesto, and must, therefore, be transferred to these pages.

“Having returned, after a happy conclusion of our foreign affairs, to the empire that God confided to us, we have been informed, by many representations, complaints, and reports, of the following circumstances :—

“The religious order of Jesuits, of the Roman Catholic Church, had been abolished by a Papal Bull. In consequence of this measure, the Jesuits were not only expelled from the States of the Church, but also from all other countries. They could not find a dwelling-place anywhere. Russia alone, being constantly guided by sentiments of humanity and tolerance,* preserved them in her bosom, gave them an asylum, and assured them tranquillity under her powerful protection. She opposed no obstacle to the free exercise of their worship ; she did not hinder them, by force, nor persecution, nor seduction, from enjoying it ; but believed that, in return, she might expect, on their part, fidelity, devotedness, and good service. In this hope she per-

* We have seen that other motives than those of humanity and tolerance led Catherine and her successor to take up those whom Rome had cast away. And events of later date have shown that the priesthood of the Russo-Greek Church, like those of all other national Churches that are absolutely dominant, have yet to acquire the virtue of tolerance.

mitted them to employ themselves in the education and instruction of youth. Fathers and mothers confided their children to them without fear, that they might teach them sciences, and form their manners.

“Now it becomes evident that they have not fulfilled those duties which gratitude, and the humility that the Christian religion teaches, had imposed upon them; and that, instead of living as peaceable inhabitants in a foreign country, they have undertaken to disturb the Greek religion, which, from the remotest times, is the religion dominant in our empire, and on which, as on a rock that cannot be shaken, repose the peace and happiness of the peoples that are subject to our sceptre. They began, at first, to abuse the confidence they had obtained. They perverted from our worship young men who had been intrusted to their care; and some women of weak and wavering mind they have drawn over to their Church.

“To induce a man to abjure his faith, the faith of his ancestors; to extinguish in him love towards those who profess the same worship; to render him an alien to his country; to sow strife and animosity in families; to separate the son from the father, and the daughter from the mother; to raise divisions between the children of the same Church;—is this the voice and the will of God, and of His Divine Son Jesus Christ our Saviour, who shed His blood for us, that we

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might lead a peaceable life in all godliness and honesty? After such conduct, we are no more surprised that the order of these Religious should have been driven from every country, and nowhere tolerated. And, indeed, what state could suffer in its bosom persons who there spread enmity and trouble?

“Constantly occupied in watching over the well-being of our faithful subjects, and considering it a wise and sacred duty to check the evil in its source, in order that it may not grow up and yield bitter fruits, we have consequently resolved to ordain,—

“I. That the Roman Catholic Church in this country be again placed on the footing on which it stood during the reign of our grandmother of glorious memory, the Empress Catherine II., up to the year 1800.

“II. To cause all the Religious of the order of Jesuits immediately to quit St. Petersburg.

“III. To prohibit their entrance into our two capitals.

“We have given particular orders to our Ministers of Police and of Public Instruction for the prompt execution of this determination, and for all that concerns the house of the Institute hitherto occupied by the Jesuits. At the same time, and that there may not be any interruption in Divine service, we have directed the Metropolitan of the Roman Catholic Church to supply the place of the Jesuits by Priests of the same

rite who may be found here, until the arrival of Religious of another Catholic order, whom we have sent for to this effect."

In the night of the 20th and 21st of December, the ukase of Alexander was executed in St. Petersburg, after the same manner as the decree of Charles III. had been executed in Spain. The Chief of Police entered the College with an armed force, placed sentinels at all the doors, put no questions, gave no reasons, arrested all the Fathers, and put their papers under seal. While this was going forward, an officer read to Bzrozowski the order for their removal from the capital. The General, perforce, submitted, merely saying, "His Majesty shall be obeyed." During the next day they were kept in custody; and their letters, manuscripts, books, museum, and furniture being seized, they were provided with cloaks, and furs, and a stock of arrack, to keep them warm, and, in the next night, were sent away to Polotsk. Hard, it may be said, to suffer confiscation and banishment for no other offence than that of having made some converts to their own faith. True. But not more hard than just. They consented to confine their labours to education, so far as the Russians were concerned. They went beyond the barrier by which they had consented to be limited; and, whatever they might affirm to the contrary, certain it is that a covert process of proselytism was going on, that the proselytes were welcomed,

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and that the Jesuits rejoiced in those accessions to their Church. They should not have submitted, in the first instance, to the stipulation that was at least implied. They should not have accepted, in silence, official injunctions to obey the Russian law as a condition of their establishment in Colleges and Missions. They broke the contract, and therefore had to pay the fine.

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Although the proximate cause of the dismissal of this troublesome Society from St. Petersburg was their perversion to Romanism of the nephew of the Minister of Worship, it is not easy to believe that a single incident of this kind would have led to so severe a sentence. And if Alexander had been influenced, by Protestants and by Pietists, to shut the Jesuits out of the two capitals, in order to preserve his people from the spread of Romanism only, it is incredible that he would have applied to Pius VII. at the same time, for a supply of Dominicans to take their place. The Dominicans are not less Roman, nor less earnest Propagandists, than the Jesuits; but they are not so clever in politics, nor do they so pursue their vocation in disguise. Perhaps they are not such adepts in obtaining legacies. Certainly, Sovereigns have not dreaded them so much; and no such record remained in the archives of the empire to their discredit as

was the ukase of Peter the Great, affixed, in the year 1719, to the door of the Romanist church in St. Petersburg: "Knowing that the Jesuits do not labour so much for the cause of religion, as for their personal advantage; that an external piety covers in them an unbounded ambition, and the gentle complications of intrigue; and that they are too much the enemies of repose for me to flatter myself that they will ever cease to meddle with the affairs of my empire." We may, therefore, most reasonably infer, from that invitation of Dominicans, made simultaneously with the expulsion of Jesuits, that the real objection of Alexander and his counsellors was to the craft of the latter, and not to their religion, nor even to that of which the Czars were always most jealous,—the rival power of the Papacy.

And every antecedent in the case of Russia contradicts an allegation of the Jesuits, that Alexander was influenced, either by Grecian schism or Anglican pietism, to assail their "Catholic religion." Did not the Emperor of Russia, like his predecessor on the throne, patronise the Pontiff in the time of his humiliation? Did he not add his congratulations to those of other Princes on occasion of his deliverance from what the Cardinals called "the impious captivity?" It is even said that he indulged in a romantic sort of joy on that occasion, and wished that he could but quit St. Petersburg, and change places with his Minister

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at Rome, to delight himself in the triumph of the Church over French republicanism and infidelity. He had set his hand to the famous "Christian treaty" with the Sovereigns of Austria and Prussia, acknowledging them "as members of one and the same Christian nation," and promising to lend his sword in aiding them to maintain Christianity, whether as understood in the sense of Luther or in the sense of Hildebrand. And after attending at the dishonourable Congress of Verona, against the conclusions of which Congress Great Britain had the honour to protest by the lips of the Duke of Wellington, he intended to have gone to Rome, there to do honour to the Pope; and the Quirinal was actually made ready for his reception. He was most imperfectly enlightened as to the vital truths of Christianity, and utterly uninformed as to the true character of Romanism and the policy of the Papal Court. Nothing but their glaring delinquency could have moved him, or any other Sovereign, *at that time*, to expel the Jesuits.

To the mild disposition of Alexander, and probably to the religious influence then acting on his mind, must be attributed the humanity that characterized his treatment of these culprits. We do not hear any complaint of wanton severity. The officers of justice are not accused of any act of cruelty. There was no outrage committed on their persons or their property; but they were humanely conveyed to Polotsk,

with every provision for their comfort. The same consideration prevailed to the very last.

Bzrozowski continued, without the slightest molestation, to exercise his authority as General; and, if he did complain with any show of reason, it could only have been because he was not allowed to quit the country, nor to have the honour of an interview with the Emperor, to whom he had written a letter, in the year 1816, attempting to exculpate his order. No proofs of treasonable or seditious correspondence, he urged in their defence, could be gathered from their papers, seized in the college at St. Petersburg. But the sagacity of the Jesuits forbids us to believe that, even if they had had such correspondence during the war, when their conduct was in itself a treason, they would have allowed a trace of it to remain in writing. Many weeks, if not months, elapsed from the utterance of the threats of Prince Galitzin to the hour of their execution; and it would have been indeed surprising if they had neither sent away nor burnt papers containing evidence against themselves.

In this letter the General asked the Emperor for one favour, as a pledge of His Majesty's approbation of the labours of his brethren in Russia. It was that he might be permitted to go to Rome, attended by two members of the Company. During eighteen months (for so long he had then been forbidden to approach St. Petersburg or Moscow) he had been solicit-

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ing the imperial Ministers for leave to go. His duty to the Supreme Pontiff, as he said, and the affairs of his order, required him to visit the threshold of the Apostles; and he professed anxiety, also, to testify, in other countries, the obligations of himself and the Company to His Majesty. As chief of all the Jesuits in the world, it was natural that he should wish to be at Rome. But Alexander chose to keep him a prisoner at large within his own dominions; and the Pope was forced to be content with the services of a Vice-General at the seat of government.

"The affairs of his order," referred to by the General, were indeed urgent. The Jesuits at Rome were all young,—a few extremely aged remnants of the first race alone excepted,—and were neither familiar with the discipline, nor imbued with the spirit, of the order. The Jesuits in White Russia retained the traditions, and were thoroughly conversant with the policy, of their predecessors. The "Sacred College" knew that this youthful race was not yet to be trusted, and were extremely anxious to obtain the services of the General himself, and some of his fellow-veterans. On this, indeed, the perpetuation of the cohort seemed to depend. The refusal of Alexander to contribute to such an arrangement grieved him sorely, even in his last hours. "I am going to die," said he; "and, as for you, I know that all of you will be expelled."

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It was on the 5th of February, 1820, that Bzrozowski died; and the same prudence of the Emperor which had dictated his detention, also dictated a measure that would render it impossible for the empire to be troubled with the presence of a successor. And then arose a question which could only be solved, satisfactorily, by a decisive act of sovereignty. On his death-bed, the General had named a Vicar, Stanislaus Swietockowski, on whom it would devolve, according to the constitutions of the Company, to convene the Professed for the election of a new General. This person sent a petition to the Emperor, praying permission to send deputies to the general Congregation, that would meet, he said, at Rome, where all the provinces would appear, for that purpose, by their deputies. The answer, however, might have been foreseen. The head of the Russian empire regarded himself as Monarch over the Russian Jesuits; and he could not acknowledge them to be in subjection to any other. He did not believe in the fiction of a spiritual or ecclesiastical headship only, in the Sovereign of the Roman States, nor imagine that a Pontiff such as he could be content with an impalpable sway over any portion of his people. He might look on those pretensions with contempt, so long as they were not carried into practice; but, when a proposal came that either one or more Russians should go to Rome, to pay their duty to the Pope, and to sit in Congrega-

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tion there for the performance of official acts, he stayed not a moment to deliberate. It was impossible, so long as the Czar was absolute, and so long as Russia was independent, that any Russian subject should be thus employed.

From the number of one hundred and seventy-eight members, the Company had risen to six hundred and seventy-four, when they were dislodged from the metropolis, leaving behind them a profound impression of disgust. Their conduct, while in disgrace, did not remove that impression; and the Prince Galitzin, in obedience to the instruction of Alexander at this crisis, presented to His Majesty an elaborate report concerning them, to the purport following:—

The removal of the Jesuits from St. Petersburg had not led them to reform their conduct. The reports of all authorities, both civil and military, agreed in showing that they continued to act in opposition to the laws. In their college at Mohilow they persisted in alluring to a profession of their own belief the youth of the Greek rite that came thither for education. To counteract this mischief, all but Romanists were forbidden to study there in future. Baffled at that point, they began to proselytise soldiers of the Greek rite cantoned at Witebsk.

Even in Siberia their conduct had not answered to the end proposed in the establishment of the Mission. Under pretence of discharging priestly functions, they frequented places where

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there was not a single Romanist, acquired influence over the common people, and induced them to pass over from the Greek rite to the Latin. In like manner they proceeded in the government of Saratow. Papal Bulls and imperial statutes concurred in forbidding all solicitation of "United Greeks" to pass over to the Roman communion; yet the General of the Jesuits opposed to that agreement which had been settled between the high powers of St. Petersburg and Rome, another Bull, declaring it lawful for such United Greeks, as had no Priests of their own at hand, to present themselves for communion before the Roman Priests. But the Jesuits outran even the regulations of this Bull, and carried their seductive arts into places where United Greek Priests exercised their ministrations; and in the year 1815, Galitzin had to recall the attention of General Bzrozowski to an imperial decree, issued eleven years before, which inculcated a universal acquiescence in the policy of the Government. The Government, it was there observed, abstained from exercising any influence to interfere with perfect independence of conscience in matters of religion, and therefore expected that "Catholic authorities," in their intercourse with the United Greeks, would observe the same rule, and restrain their Clergy from employing any sort of tentative to pervert those sectaries from their peculiar worship. The Czar declared that while the dominant religion

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did not make use of any sort of constraint, a religion that was but barely tolerated should not be permitted to use a greater licence.

In the colonies, also, the Jesuits were spreading discord in families, by seducing individuals from the "evangelical profession," as the Greek religion is designated. At one time the Jesuits had thought themselves at liberty to employ violence for the conversion of Jews, in direct opposition to the tenor of an imperial ukase, as well as to the principles of Christianity itself, which suffers no coercion, and in spite of the positive laws of the empire, which provide severe penalties on every species of seduction. But not until the local authorities interfered, could Jewish parents recover their children from the hands of Jesuits, who kept them in a state of illegal custody in one, at least, of their houses.

Such overt acts had been subsequently prevented by the vigilance of the magistracy; but no laws nor any power could induce them to bring their proceedings into conformity with the established principle of "toleration." The charities, for example, which the beneficence of Sovereigns enabled them to dispense, were never distributed in accordance with the principles of Christian charity; and of this the wretchedness of their own serfs, not being Romanists, was manifest evidence, to the offence of all Russia.

His Majesty was reminded that his attention had been already drawn to this fact, and that,

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after the French invasion, touched with compassion by the sufferings of the outcast and famished dependents on the family of St. Ignatius, he had required his Minister to address a letter of remonstrance and reproof to their General. A powerful state, it was remembered, had afforded refuge to this fraternity when every other state, almost, had cast them off with abhorrence; they gladly accepted that benevolence; but, instead of making some return of gratitude, they outraged the laws that shielded them, opposed a dogged disobedience to the salutary influence of those very laws, and, usurping the title of Missioners which a regulation of the year 1769 refused to the Romish Clergy, acted in the midst of an entirely Christian people as if they were savage hordes that knew not even of the existence of a God.

Galitzin further insisted that Russian generosity, vouchsafed to them in spite of the general disapprobation of Europe, with the confidence, and even esteem, lavished on them, had imposed a sacred obligation to educate liberally a part of the children of their own communion, to make their schools nurseries of science, and their cells sanctuaries of religion. But, using the benefit as a weapon of resistance against the benefactor, they had abused the inexperience of youth, and made use of the tolerance extended towards themselves to imbue the victims of their perfidy with principles of the most cruel intolerance. They undermined the foundations of states,

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loyalty to country, and attachment to religion. They destroyed the happiness of families, and sowed the seeds of discord in every dwelling where they found access. All their actions betrayed but one motive, that of sordid and insatiable selfishness, ever thirsting after greater power. A vastly comprehensive conscience, dilated into any breadth that any exigency might require, taught them to adapt all proceedings of their own to the laws of the Company; laws framed after such a manner that they might be bent—not broken—to justify the breach of all other laws, Divine or human.

Long ago did Clement XIV. justify the extinction which they had evaded in terms that, now quoted verbally, described their conduct with no less precision than when they were first published. Now, as then, it was evident that so long as Jesuitism existed, there could be no peace in the Church.

Prince Galitzin recommends, therefore, that, as the Jesuits have placed themselves, by their own conduct, beyond the protection of the laws; as they have not only forgotten the sacred duties of gratitude, but the obligations imposed on them by oath, as subjects of the empire, and men sworn to allegiance; they be sent, under the oversight of the Police, across the frontiers of the empire, and be not again allowed to set foot on Russian territory under any character, nor on any pretext. This recommendation is followed by an enumeration of the measures necessary in

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order to its efficient execution, to be intrusted to the Ministers of the Interior and of Finance, together with Galitzin himself. Russia might then rejoice in her deliverance from a set of men whom neither ukase nor Gospel had ever brought into submission. On March 13th, 1820, the Czar gave his formal sanction to the recommendation of the Minister.

In the summary of their delinquencies, nothing appears concerning political correspondencies. The European war being but just ended, such accusations directly made in a public document would have been inopportune. It was enough to fix on one reason; enough to point out one Russian law that they had broken; enough to show that they had illegally made proselytes. Incidentally, however, they *are* charged with teaching disloyalty; and not only their conduct in regard to France, during the war, but those "Roman principles," which the Legate Arezzo acknowledges and commends, had made them odious even to their fellow-Priests, and justify the charge.

Here our narrative ends. The Autocrat must have rejoiced when he knew that the last Ignatian had been seen clear out of his dominions. Only a few of the Fathers consented to put off their habit, and remain. But he did not know that he and his predecessors had nursed up a new and vigorous generation to infest Europe, and Russia too, in future times. Banishment was

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no very weighty grievance for the hundreds that obeyed his mandate. They rushed back into the bosom of their Church, were welcomed as confessors, applauded as heroes, and held up for imitation as the conservators and exemplars of the pure spirit of their patriarch-founder, St. Ignatius.

Thus received at the centre of the Popedom, they renovated the provinces now to be re-occupied. The *Ratio Studiorum* underwent a reformation, in order that the teaching in the seminaries might seem to be brought up to a level with the times. The exact discipline of former days returned, so far as it could return, to their colleges. They wisely avoided the dilution of disciplinary strength that results from a sudden influx of new members, the deceptive boon of popularity, and strove to retain their peculiarity of character and vocation, by dint of severe adherence to the original standard. Other Societies came to revolve around them, like the satellites that wait upon a planet, and to diffuse themselves, with widespread adaptation, through all circles of society. The number of Jesuits is not large; about four thousand, as M. Montalembert calculates, in all the world.* But they are quite enough to take

* "Behold them all!" cries Montalembert; all the religious orders, one by one. "Behold them all! Not only the Jesuits, whose ruin, when brought about by the criminal blindness of Kings, has everywhere been the forerunner of the fall of thrones. Not only the Jesuits, who

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the loftier stations, do the finer work, infuse their counsels, and apply their impulses to all the rest. "Sisters of the Heart of Jesus," "Faithful Companions of Jesus," and a variety of subsidiary orders and fraternities, labourers of both sexes, are visible, are to be counted; tell us where they live, and advertise what they do. But the Society of Jesus, like a hoary mountain that buries its head in clouds, and refuses to be ascended by any, save the most enterprising and the strongest, conceals its real elevation, and, even when it stands forth most boldly in a serene sky, can only be measured by the shadow.

everywhere answer their detractors by prodigies of zeal, patience, and charity; but also the Benedictines, Bernardines, Trappists, Dominicans, Capuchins. See them, not only at Rome or in France, but *in the smoky cities of English industry*, &c., &c. There were scarcely two hundred Jesuits in the world in 1802 [after the suppression]. At this day there are, if I am not mistaken, more than four thousand. Amidst the persecutions that, from 1840 to 1850, have broken forth against them in almost all the countries of Europe, *this chosen army* has not had to deplore so much as one desertion. The number of its novices has everywhere increased in proportion to the rage of its enemies." (*Des Intérêts Catholiques au XIX^{me} Siècle*, Deuxième Edition, pp. 51, 52.)

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